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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1950

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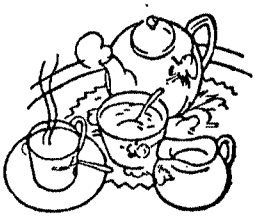

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1950

EARLY INDUS CIVILISATION AND TWO BRAHMANICAL CULTS*

J. N. BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Offg.), Calcutta University

HONOURABLE MINISTER, FRIENDS,

I gratefully appreciate the honour which you have conferred on me by inviting me to address you on the occasion of the Annual General Meeting of your Society as its President. I may submit that this is not the first time that I have come to Patna on such an errand. Years ago, I think it was sometime in the early part of 1942, I was asked by my honoured and distinguished friends, the then and the present Heads of the History Department, Patna College, to open the nucleus of a museum of archaeological collection which they with their enthusiastic colleagues, students and other collaborators were building up. I hope that the small but interesting collection which I had the pleasure of seeing on that occasion had grown and become fairly representative by this time, and I am sure that it will have its requisite place in the working of the newly opened Ancient Indian History and Culture Department of this University. I remember again that during the annual session of the Indian History Congress here in December, 1946, I had the honour and privilege of addressing the members, delegates and visitors to the Congress, as one of its sectional presidents. I cherish a very happy memory

* Presidential Address delivered in the Annual General Meeting of the B. N. College Historical Society, Patna, on the 25th of February, 1950.

of those days. I shall never forget the utmost care and hospitality that we, the members and delegates from outside, received from the local organisers of the session specially, and from the Patna public in general.

Your Society has made the scientific and methodical study of history its principal objective, and its importance in the present set up cannot be over-estimated. Our country has a long—a very long past—, a past that has undoubtedly shaped our present. It behoves many amongst you and other earnest students of history to strive not only for throwing light on our dim past, but also for laying bare to the best of their ability the various strands that had combined to build up our composite culture. The necessity for such a systematic effort was long being felt by many eminent thinkers and educationists, and one of its tangible outcomes was the opening up of facilities for Indological studies and research, first in the Calcutta University and then in some other universities of India. It is a matter of deep gratification to all of us that your state which is so rich in antiquarian remains, which has given to the world one of the greatest men of all times and of all places more than two milleniums ago, and which can rightfully claim a considerable share of the noble heritage of India, has felt this need and opened very recently the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department in the Patna University. I may also tell you that the Utkal University which is shortly going to start the post-graduate course of studies in History, has decided not only to make arrangements for the teaching of ancient history of India in general in the M.A. final stage, but also for the intensive study of the old history, art and archaeology of its own state. To crown all these and other existing arrangements for the investigation and research into India's past history and culture, the Banaras Hindu University is shortly making an all out effort for co-ordinating the studies in all the various branches of Indology and allied subjects under the guidance of one of the pre-eminent Indologists of our country. This is what it should be, and we, the students of Indian history and culture, wish full success to all the old and new ventures for unravelling the mystery of our remote past.

I have just referred to the various strands that have combined to make up our composite culture; I shall now speak in brief about a few of them possibly traceable to the dawn of history in India. It is a matter of common knowledge that the picture of our society and culture which the Vedic literature in its earlier phase presents to us is not the same as we get about our social institutions, religious

beliefs and cultural conventions from the late Vedic, epic and puranic literature. There can be no doubt that many changes had been introduced in all these matters, and the Vedic rites and practices were modified to a great extent by forces that were at work from the very time the upholders of Vedic culture had set foot on the soil of this country. India had already experienced milleniums of ordered progress not only in the material side of a very well-organised civilisation, but probably also in its spiritual side. The remains that were unearthed decades ago at Mohenjo-daro (Larkana District of Sind) and Harappa (Montgomery District of the Punjab 2) are only a few mementos of this great culture spread over these parts of India in the 4th-3rd millenium B.C. and even afterwards. Future explorations and excavations scientifically conducted in other parts of the country may bring to light substantial proofs of the continuity of this culture, a fusion of which with the early Vedic one appears to have given shape to the composite civilisation of the epic and puranic times. One of the most interesting outcomes of this fusion was the evolution of the various cults, many traits in which can be traced to the early Indus civilisation.

In the first phase of the discovery and interpretation of the Indus Valley remains, it was thought that a considerable time elapsed between the end of the Indus civilisation and the advent of the Aryan-speaking race. But recent researches have bridged this gap to a great extent, and it is now regarded as highly probable, if not certain, that the fall of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro was largely due to the actions of the Aryan immigrants. This suggestion was first hesitatingly made by V. Gordon Childe about 15 years ago (*New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 1935, p. 223), and the excavations conducted at the former site as late as 1946 by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler seem to support it (*Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 82). The propinquity in age between the earlier Indian settlers in these parts and the in-coming Aryans has an interesting bearing on the future history of India. The 99 or 100 cities of Sambara, presumably a representative type of the former, might have been destroyed by the Aryan Divodasa with the grace of his god Indra, but the subtler elements of the culture of Sambara's people that was spread over the land of the seven rivers could certainly not be destroyed. Indra boasts that he had given to his protege Divodasa the one-hundredth city for his abode (*R. V.*, IV. 26,3) ; the settlement of Divodasa and his people in these lands was bound to have some considerable effect on their modes of life, their beliefs and their practices in due course. The victors need not

have forthwith adopted these changes, but it can be presumed that there was a somewhat long incubation period during which these transformations had gradually taken shape. Even the genius of the Upanishads has been adjudged by many scholars to be different from that of the *Rigveda*, 'however many ties may connect the two periods' : but as regards the manners, customs and beliefs of the people who are described in the epic and puranic texts, the changes are so evident and so striking as to characterise them as a different people, as it were, from the early Vedic Aryans.

I shall now briefly refer to only a few of the elements in the later Indian culture, that appear to have been taken from the early Indus people and their descendants. The element of Bhakti, the deep affectionate and mystic devotion for some personal god who is the object of worship (*puja*) to his votaries, seems to be absent in its developed connotation in the early Vedic texts. It was, however, the main guiding principle of the later Indian cults, that centred round either such mythical figures as Siva, Durga-Parvati or Sakti, the Yakshas, the Nagas etc., or historical persons like Vasudeva-Krishna, Buddha and Mahavira. It can presumably be traced to the Indus remains, some of which emphasise the act of *puja*. A faience tablet found among them shows a seated deity who 'is being worshipped on either side by a kneeling man, while behind each worshipper, a cobra, with head raised and hood expanded, is evidently joining in the adoration of the god' (Mackay, *Early Indus Civilisation;* 2nd Edition, p. 65). In some of the early Upanishads like the *Svetasvatara* (II ; 9,10, etc.) and others, a great stress is laid on the practice of *dhyana-yoga* for the attainment of the Brahman, and the part played by it in the spiritual life of the Indians and the religious practice of their sectaries is well-known to all. It was justifiably traced by an erudite Bengali scholar to the early Indus civilisation. The fragmentary limestone statue of a deity or more probably a priest (Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, fig. 1) was understood by him to show one of the yogic characteristics (*Nasagrabaddhadrishti*). This interpretation of the figure, it is true, has not been unanimously accepted by scholars ; but the figure engraved on a few seal amulets and other objects found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa leave little doubt that late R. P. Chanda was in the main right in finding the presence of this practice among the early Indian settlers. The figure was identified by Sir John Marshall as the prototype of Siva-Pasupati ; it shows the deity seated in a *yogasana* pose, which can with enough reason be described as an early variant of the *kurmasana* (where the

heels are placed under the gluteals). One of the aspects in which the cult-god of a Saiva is to be meditated on is that of a Maha-Yogi, 'the god as the great meditator'. The god in the Indus seal amulet also bears a feature which can be interpreted as *urdhamedhra*; his three faces, the deer on the pedestal, the horns on his head (these horns are very often shown on the heads of divine or priestly figures carved on many of these seals), the animal and human attendants, as well as the *urdhalinga* feature are all characteristic traits of the epic and puranic Siva. F. O. Schraeder unnecessarily doubts Marshall's interpretation which rests on solid data. A small red stone mutilated figure, heads and arms gone, found at Harappa has been described by Marshall as the figure of a divine dancer with more than one head or face (possibly one animal in form), also ithyphallic in character, and has been taken by him to stand for the youthful Siva-Nataraja of the pre-Vedic times (*Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, pl. XI). A somewhat striking parallel to this of a much later date can be cited; the reverse device of a unique type of Huvishka's gold coin, now in the British Museum, shows some of these traits. The figure there is four-armed, ithy-phallic, its one leg is thrown forward, and it possibly bears more than one face or has the face of an animal (Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pl. IX, fig. 2). There is little doubt that this device is based on an image-type current in Huvishka's time in the north-west of India, which might have been a remote descendant of the dancing god of Harappa. It should also be noted that the markedly phallic character of most of the anthropomorphic representations of Siva in the Indian art of the Saka-Kushan, Gupta and the post-Gupta ages, and the phallicism so closely associated with the Saiva cult of the historic period, can really be traced to the phallicistic religious practice that appears to have been current among these pre-Vedic peoples of north-western India. The Rigvedic Aryans deprecatingly refer to the Sisnadevas several times, who seem to have been no other than these very ancient people of the Indus region. The numerous phalli usually of stone but occasionally of other materials, that have been unearthed there have rightly been regarded by Marshall as the cult-objects of the local people; they can very well be compared with the many realistic Sivalingas of comparatively early date in the historical times found in different parts of India. The association of these emblems with Siva long before the beginning of the Christian era has been definitely established not only by the Gudimallam Linga (T. A. G. Rao, *El. of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pl. II), but also by certain coin-devices of the 2nd-3rd centuries B.C.;

the latter show the god in his anthropomorphic, theriomorphic and phallic forms simultaneously (Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pl. I, figs. 9, 10, 13, 14). The phallic character of these is also clearly manifest in some of the seal impressions of the Gupta period found at Bhita (Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pl. X, figs. 4 & 6). The data collected above give unstinted support to Marshall's observation that 'phallism in India had a pre-Aryan origin, thus disposing once for all of the fantastic theory that it was introduced in India by the Greeks or other western invaders' (*MIC*, 1, 59).

The cult of the proto-Siva and Siva himself enunciating in one of its aspects the principle of virility and fatherhood naturally brings to our mind that of the Mother-goddess who has been symbolised either by a semi-nude or even nude female figure and its aniconic emblems of the pre-Vedic and post-Vedic periods in India. In this respect also the early Indus remains have supplied us with some striking evidence about the presence of the cult of the Mother goddess in these regions. Numerous iconic and aniconic objects have been discovered in the culture-belt of the pre-Vedic times, which can with a great deal of justification be described as symbolising the mother or the productive aspect of the divinity. A very common pottery figurine is that of a female, practically nude with 'a very abbreviated skirt secured by a girdle round the loins' (Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. xvi, fig. 2). It has been said that 'these pottery images of the goddess whose name is unknown were kept in almost every house in the ancient Indus cities, probably in a recess or on a bracket on the wall' (*ibid*, p. 54). She seems also to have been worshipped by these early Indians in her aniconic form ; many ring-stones, some of extremely suggestive shape, which have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, can reasonably be described as symbolising the female principle (Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. xiii, figs. 9, 10). Terracotta figurines, stone and other objects of the historic period found in different parts of India may be described as the distant derivatives of the above-mentioned Indus things. They are to be found among the archaeological collections of most of the Indian museums. The mother-type in a way symbolises the divine mother Aditi whose praise is sung in some hymns of the *Rigveda* and the other Vedas. The ideas underlying Sri, the goddess of fortune and abundance, and Bhu-Devi or Prithivi, the bearer and producer of food and wealth, may also be traced to the concept of the all nourishing Mother present among the Indus people. A very striking stone sculpture originally found in Mathura and now in the Lucknow Museum shows the goddess (Sri) offering one of her breasts in a very

characteristic attitude to her children not shown in the relief (Coomaraswamy, *Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. xx, fig. 74). Sri is not only held in the highest veneration by the Vaishnavas, one of the most prominent of the Brahmanical sects, but also by other sectaries even outside the Brahmanical fold, like the Buddhists and the Jains. Reference should be made in this connection to the several stone discs of the 2nd-3rd century B.C. unearthed from such widely distant regions, as Bhir Mound at Taxila, Kosam and Rajghat (Banaras). One such Taxila specimen bears a beautiful polish, its upper surface being decorated with concentric bands of cross and cable patterns; it has a central hole around which are engraved four nude female figures alternating with honey-suckle designs. It can be suggested with a great deal of justification, as has been done by Marshall, that these derivatives of the early Indus ring-stones are themselves the distant prototypes of the Yantras and Sri-Chakras of comparatively modern times.

The affinities shown above naturally lead us to the bigger question of the evolution of the Saiva and Sakta cults in India. Both these cults seem to have been the oldest in point of date, and this explains why parallelisms have been so readily found by scholars between certain traits inherent in them and some of the most ancient remains of north-western India. The earliest mention of a Saiva sect in Indian literature is probably to be found in one of the Sutras of Panini, which refers to the derivation of the word-form denoting the descendants, really the followers or the adorers, of Siva. Patanjali's reference to the Saivas is more explicit, and his Siva-bhagavatas seem to have been the precursors of the Pasupatas or the Lakulisa Pasupatas, said to have been founded by a historical personage named La (Na)kulisa of Kayavarohana (modern Karvan in Kathiawar) in the first part of the 2nd century A.D. He was regarded by his followers as the 28th incarnation of Siva, and tradition records that his four immediate disciples, Kusika, Mitra, Gargya and Kaurushya, became the respective founders of four sub-sects affiliated to the Pasupata order. This is also proved by archaeological evidence of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods, for we get inscriptional reference to the followers of at least two of them, Kusika and Gargya. Now, the point is that in the evolution of the concept of the cult-deity and certain ritual practices of the sectaries, the heritage of the early Indus culture appears to have played a very important part. The Vedic Rudra also must have contributed much to the growth of the ideologies centering round the cult-picture, but Rudra himself seems

to have acquired some characteristic traits from the pre-Vedic father-god of the Indus region. One of the early references to the Sakti cult is to be found in the *Brihatsamhita* of Varaha-mihira. The followers of this cult are described by the author as Matrimandala-vidah, *i.e.*, 'those who are well-versed in the worship of the mother-goddesses'; they were only the proper persons to instal according to the requisite rites the images of the Divine Mothers or the Matrikas. A stone inscription of the time of Kumaragupta I refers to the installations of the images of the Matrikas in a shrine described as a very terrible shrine infested with the Dakinis and the Yoginis (*vesmatyugram-dakiniyoginisamprakirnnam*). The Mothers are usually seven in number, Brahmani, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Chamundi. The inscription further hints at the Tantric rites according to which this pious act was performed. The Sakti cult was present in a nascent state among a section of the Indian mass long before the Vedic period. It did not seem to have received any great recognition and encouragement from the early Vedic seers. But from the late Vedic age onwards it gradually came into its own and in course of time it became one of the major Brahmanical cults of India. One of the names by which India came to be known in comparatively late times is Kumaridvipa, which fact is suggestively associated with the prevalence of the Sakti cult in India. The Egyptian Greek author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (2nd half of the 1st century A.D.) refers indirectly to the worship of the goddess Comari (Kumari, an epithet applied to Durga-Parvati, the Mother par excellence, the consort of the Father-god Siva) in the southernmost point of India. The Mahakavyas and the early Puranas contain copious references to the well-established position of this cult in India, and there is little doubt that some of its traits can be traced to the early Indus region.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD-THOUGHT (1887-1949)

HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Professor of History, Krishnagar College

Benoy Sarkar (Dec., 1887-Nov., 1949) was one of the most creative and original thinkers in the contemporary world (1905-49). His creative career started with the year 1905 and it persisted in all its vigour till his death in November, 1949. It is evident that his intellectual activities spread over the whole span of the first half of the 20th century (1905-49). During these forty-five or fifty years the face of the earth has undergone tremendous transformations. At the beginning of the period (1905), we find the entire Asia being helplessly dominated by the "alleged superior races" of the West. This domination was both political and cultural. It was again in 1905—the year of the Swadeshi movement and of Japan's victory over Russia at Portsmouth—that the whole of Asia started on a career of revolt and reconstruction. By December, 1949, we reached the climax of our effort in this regard and the political-*cum*-cultural domination of the East by the West was by that time perilously near its end. The birth of republican Indonesia (27th December, 1949) registered another victory of the Asian freedom *vis-a-vis* Western domination. In this dynamic situation India had changed almost in a revolutionary way both ideologically and institutionally. Himself being a product of this revolutionary change, Benoy Kumar Sarkar was also in very many instances a mighty factor in producing this change. India is today politically independent, and the Occident and the Orient have come now to a better mutual understanding. It is gratifying to us to remember the contribution not a little due to Prof. Sarkar (1905-49) made in this field. Few of our national leaders had worked in foreign lands with greater zeal and stronger determination than Sarkar in order to gain for India a respectable position in world-politics and world-culture. In fact, he was in the vanguard of those Indian Titans whose creative vision and strenuous exertions had carved out for their mother-country a permanent address in the modern world. In any study in Benoy Sarkar's life and activities this fundamental point must not be missed if we are to do any justice to him. His role in modern India and in relation to the larger world

was obviously far greater than what many of his colleagues and contemporaries could possibly conceive of. It is an irony of history that he was far ahead of those whom he tried to enlighten and benefit. Naturally, the death of such a man is an irreparable national loss.

One of the best creative contributions of Benoy Kumar Sarkar was in the domain of comparative culture-study,—ancient, medieval and modern. At the time of Max Muller's publication *India : What can it Teach us* (1883) the theory of alleged difference in *Weltanschauung* or world-view between the East and the West was perhaps stated for the first time. The second half of the 19th century witnessed in Europe the formation of a vast Germanic Empire under the leadership of Prussia (1860-70) and her bid for colonial and imperial expansion in the backward regions of Asia and Africa. It was also the period of the colonial penetration of other western races into the heart of the East, particularly, India and the Far East. It was a time when the Western powers, thanks to the impact of the Industrial Revolution, was busy in carving out Asian lands and regions into their colonial or imperial zones, or spheres of influence. The entire Asia gradually crumbled down before the organised ouslaught of the Western races. Almost every bit of Asian territory became to all intents and purposes a White man's domination-centre. Culturally also Asia collapsed. Her traditions and old *mores* broke down in hopeless confusion. The Asian foundations were violently shaken and she soon lost her self-confidence,—confidence even in her past traditions. Lack of self-confidence and inferiorty-sense springing from downright political-*cum*-cultural enslavement soon invaded the Asian psychology. Inferiority-sense gradually developed into a deep-seated complex and began to seek its natural compensation in a kind of superiority-complex. The patriotic scholars and 'natural leaders' of Asia took shelter in the theory of alleged spiritual superiority to the West in a setting of political defeat, social breakdown and cultural collapse. The Oriental scholars unthinkingly assumed the correctness of their stand and felt doubly assured of it when a tribute came from the "alleged superior races" of the West to her special spiritual genius.

Max Muller was perhaps one of the pioneers of this theory of alleged difference,—the theory that stated that the East is spiritual and the West is secular. And every Idologist or Orientalist who followed suit almost invariably accepted it as an axiomatic truth or a first postulate in thinking.

Pragmatically speaking, Benoy Sarkar was perhaps the first modern philosopher to challenge the entire basis of the theory of

alleged fundamental difference between the East and the West in mentality and outlook. While translating the *Sukraniti* into English from a Sanskrit source he felt for the first time that the traditional picture of Indian culture was wholly opposed to historic truth. The positivistic creations or secular strands of the ancient Hindus became a theme of his research in 1913-14. His publication entitled "Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" (Allahabad 1914, Vol. I) constituted a frontal attack on the traditional treatment of Indian culture. His next publication, "Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes" (Shanghai, 1916) embodied a more intensive and comparative investigation of Asian and Eur-American mentalities, item by item, *i.e.*, idea by idea and institution by institution in a time-series. In his preface to that book he declared: "Neither historically nor philosophically does Asiatic mentality differ from the Eur-American. It is only after the brilliant successes of a fraction of mankind subsequent to the Industrial Revolution of the last century that the alleged difference between the two mentalities has been first stated and since then grossly exaggerated. At the present day science is being vitiated by pseudo-scientific theories or fancies regarding race, religion and culture. Such theories were unknown to the world down to the second or third decade of the 19th century.

"Comparative Chronology and Comparative History will show that man, as an economic, political and fighting animal, has displayed the same strength and weakness both on the Asian theatre as well as on the extra-Asian.

"Comparative Literature and Comparative Art will show that man, as 'lover, lunatic and poet,' has worked upon the same gamut of passions from Homer to Maeterlinck as from the Pharaonic *Book of the Dead* down to *Gitanjali*.

"Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Metaphysics will show that man, as positivist and mystic, has attacked the 'problems of the sphinx' in the self-same way and with almost similar results under the guidance of intellectuals from Confucius to Swami Vivekananda as from Socrates to Bergson.

"Comparative Anthropology and Comparative Psychology will show that man has everywhere and always been fundamentally a beast, and that beneath a superficial varnish of so-called culture 'the ape and tiger' hold their majestic sway,—giving rise to superstitious, prejudices, *idolas* and *avidyas* under different guises and conventions. The brute-in-man is a fact—the *datum*: but the god-in-man is only an idea,—the ideal *to be* realised.

"Comparative Religion and Comparative Mythology will show that man in his desire to have 'something after from the sphere of our sorrow' has everywhere had recourse to the same *modus operandi* and has achieved the same grand failure which in his vanity he always chooses to call success. It would be found that, after all, divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted. And on a broad view of *all* the forces that have inspired and governed *elan* and activity, some of which are miscalled religion, and some not, man has ever been essentially a pluralist and an idolist."

Benoy Kumar Sarkar came to these conclusions after laborious studies and researches in world-culture conducted in a thoroughly objective manner and on a sound comparative basis. He proceeded with his investigations not from a preconceived dogma, but with the technique of pure "logical analysis" which repeatedly drove him to conclude that the East and the West are basically identical or similar in deeper spirit. On the strength of positive acheivements in ideology and institutions (item by item) the leading historical forces, processes and stages are found to have been in the main, more or less uniform in the East and the West. His most memorable and challenging document to this effect is furnished by his "*Futurism of Young Asia*" (Leipzig, 1922) known in its second edition as the *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939). These pioneering works together constituted an effective counter-blast against the widely circulated news and views on Indian or Asian culture as well as the spirit or the soul of the Occident and the Orient. In his "Futurism of Young Asia", he exposed the fallacies of the comparative method as generally used by anthropologists, culture-historians, criminologists as well as moral and political philosophers. Their fallacies fall in their three classes : first, for purposes of comparative analysis they do not take the same *class* of facts from the the East and the West ; secondly, they do not apply the same *method* of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident ; and thirdly, they compare the old conditions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident.

Again in that celebrated work as well as in other books such as *Economic Development* (2 vols., 1926, 1932), Benoy Sarkar declared that the East and the West ran almost parallel to each other both in ideas and institutions down to the middle of the 18th century. It was only after the Industrial Revolution that the West substantially differed from the East in institutions and ideologies. Thus Asia

(1850) was equal to Europe (1750). This difference that was then visible between the two sections or groups of humanity, *i.e.*, the Asians and Eur-Americans was not then a pointer to their difference in the previous centuries of history. Besides, this temporary difference between the East and the West was not indicative of a fundamental difference in mentality or life's view-points or *Weltanschaunng*. That difference was not only temporary but also superficial and was due to the difference in economic or material development between the two. Since 1905 Asia had entered on a creative period and had been continuously struggling to catch up the advanced west in technocracy, industrialism, municipal efficiency and political administration. Time is not distant when the East and the West will meet each other on almost the same ideological and institutional platform. Benoy Sarkar's conclusion runs therefore thus : "The Asians are not more moral and more spiritual than the Eur-Americans and the Eur-Americans are not more militaristic, more power-loving and positivistic than the Asians. And therefore the philosophy that is today very popular in India and elsewhere, the metaphysics by discussing which we can get recognised overnight as brilliant philosophers, the *ism* which says that there is a fundamental difference between the East and the West in regard to outlook on life, life's view-points and world-conceptions are entirely fallacious".

While reviewing "Futurism of Young Asia", Prof. Karl Haushofer of the Munich University, a foremost scholar of Germany, observed in 1922-23 that the book "explains perhaps more explicitly than all others the relations of the national ideals of China and India with Pan-Asian currents of thought and their anti-thesis to the Eur-American tendencies. It may be regarded as a guide to the ideas of leaders of the Asian movement. Everybody who undertakes a deeper and more intensive investigation of this problem, in so far as the exhibition of surging ideas is concerned, will have to begin chiefly by analysing Sarkar's philosophical fresco of awakening Asia. This is the most magnificent of all presentations from the Asian standpoint known to me." At about the same time (1922-23) Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a leading historian of modern India, acclaimed Sarkar's "Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus" (Leipzig, 1922) as "a distinct and long step in our knowledge of ancient India in its *true* bearing on human thought. It is difficult to conceive of a man more fully qualified than he is to treat of ancient Indian political institutions comprehensively and correctly. He has deeply and widely studied European history, politics and economics, and what is of

priceless value, he has lived among the greatest and most progressive European thinkers on economics and politics, some of the makers of modern European history—but even more valuable in his fresh and independent outlook. Like the Hero-Prophet of Carlyle he insists on discarding all shows, all painted idols and laying bare the heart of things and reaching the bed-rock of truth. Such an honest physician, such a teacher inspired by love of truth, is needed by India today in the hour of her national awakening".

Benoy Sarkar's lectures and publications in the philosophic or scientific world of Eur-America were as numerous as their impact was deep and widespread. Prof. Sylvain Levy, the renowned French Indologist, found in him a new Columbus with a new spirit of European discovery. Through Benoy Kumar Sarkar the modern Eur-American scholars could feel perhaps for the first time the pulse of India or of entire Asia adequately and correctly and discover the real Orient. The Orient of actuality in its past and present, the Orient of flesh and blood, the Orient of *real politics*. Such recognition was first offered to Prof. Sarkar by Prof. Hankins, President of the American Sociological Society (1918) as well as by John Dewey, the philosopher, and Seligman, the economist, both being Professors in the Columbia University of New York.

As an intellectual Benoy Sarkar enjoyed a definite status in the midst of those Eur-American scholars. He was well-known to them all and many of them were depolarised from their conventional standpoint in comparative sociology, political philosophy and culture-study, thanks to the Sarkarian impact. Most of these scholars had published highly appreciative reviews on Sarkar's works in the celebrated Journals of the Western languages and had recognised in him one of the foremost thought-leaders of Asia. Many have also made liberal use of the Sarkarian data, method and message with regard to world-culture in their respective publications bearing on the same or similar theme. As a result of Benoy Sarkar's long and extensive lecture-tour in the West as well of his numerous publications in the different Western languages, many of the old *idolas* and superstitions of the West with regard to the East had been challenged and changing. "The twentieth Century", pleads Sarkar, "demands a new synthesis, —a fresh transvaluation of values", and, as prolegómena to that, a New Logic. A complete overhauling of the whole apparatus of thinking is urgently needed to carry forward the tendencies initiated by the discovery of Kalidas for world-literature and by the application of steam to the furtherance of human needs." Benoy Sarkar not

merely pleaded for the application of a New Logic in comparative culture analysis, but had also worked it out in details in all his works from the *Positive Background* to the *Dominion India* (1914-49). The fundamental principles of the New Logic urgently needed today for comparative culture-study had been most clearly set forth in his "Futurism of Young Asia". A reform of comparative sociology and culture-study on the lines of the New Logic as envisaged and employed in his *Futurism* would lead, we believe, to a revolution in our ideas about the relations between Asia and Eur-America and serve to establish the race-questions as well as the theory of progress and prospects of the world on the proper objective and scientific foundations. Like Bacon of the sixteenth century, Benoy Sarkar represented an epoch by himself and like his great European predecessor, he had also demolished many of the long-continued *idolas* and superstitions of the twentieth century, particularly in regard to the relation between the East and the West.

TREATMENT OF RUPA IN THE ABHIDHAMMA SYSTEM

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Of the three main divisions of the Buddhist canonical texts, called the Vinaya Pitaka, Sutta Pitaka and Abhidhamma Pitaka, the third represents a highly developed scientific treatment of the Buddha's doctrine. According to Buddhaghosa, the great Buddhist scholiast of India of the 5th Century A.D., the term *Abhidhamma* is so called because it exceeds and is distinguished from the *Dhamma* or *Sutta* (*Atthasalini*, pp. 2 f.). The force of the prefix *Abhi* of *Abhidhamma* is that in the Abhidhamma texts we have a long developed exegetical method of explaining the Buddha's doctrine *in excess of* what is found in the Suttanta texts. Thus *Abhi*, like *Meta* of Metaphysics, signifies a sort of transcedance. In the case of Abhidhamma, however, the transcendance implies just going beyond the exegetical method adopted in the Suttanta texts, and not going beyond the reaches of physical sciences. As such, the Abhidhamma Pitaka cannot be taken to represent the metaphysics of Buddhism. The distinction between the Sutta Pitaka and the Abhidhamma Pitaka thus lies merely in the mode of treatment, and not in the subject-matter.

It is definitely stated that the Abhidhamma Pitaka, precisely like the Vinaya Pitaka, stands for a method, better an ocean of method (*nayasagara*). In it, the various psychoethical terms employed in the dialogues of the Buddha have been carefully catalogued, classified and defined on a thoroughly analytical or scientific method (*vibhajjavada*), so that, there may not be any confusion in understanding of its subject-matter. For the real philosophical discussion the reference must always be had to the Suttas on the basis of which the superstructure of the Abhidhamma was built.

For a systemic study of the Abhidhamma system the most important thing for us to know is the Self, *i.e.*, the living individual almost about whose existence we do not disbelieve. In terms of Self we proceed to extend our knowledge to otherselves, living or non-living. The Self may be scientifically viewed in its two aspects : the conscious and the non-conscious. The conscious aspect is to

distinguish the incorporeal or mental from the corporeal or physical. The non-conscious aspect is denoted by the category of *Rupa*.

The logical characteristic of a person or a thing as the person or the thing can be conveniently represented by a name. But the mere naming of the person or the thing does not give us the full knowledge of what we want to know. As discussed in the *Milinda* (pp. 25 ff.), a name is a mere designation in common use, and signifies nothing beyond it. If we pass from the name to the person or thing named, the individual whole cannot be identified with any of the component parts. Nor can it be maintained that so far as a living individual or a living thing is concerned, the whole is a mere arithmetical sumtotal of the parts. The Buddhist position in this respect is stated by the Theri Vajira thus :

Yatha hi angasambhara hoti saddo ratho'ti,
evam khandesu santesu hoti satto'ti sammuti.

The term *ratha* or chariot is conventionally applicable and justifiable to denote a structure in which the different parts are organically combined into unity and brought into a working or functioning order. So the term *puggala* or person is applicable and justifiable, conventionally of course, when the five aggregates are organically combined into unity and brought into a working or functioning order.

The problem is—how to bring the Self in its totality to the comprehension of human knowledge, how to exhaust our description of the individuals ? One possible way is to get hold of certain general terms, general modes and general properties or characteristics ; but as soon as we come to the general terms, general modes, etc., we get away from the reference to the particular individuals, for we then begin to think and know the individuals only in general terms or concepts (*pannattis*). The individuals are changeable realities, but the concepts stand out as so many intellectual solids. We try to understand the fluids in terms of these solids. There is no other alternative for us, as we are constituted, and when we begin to understand the individuals without any particular reference, as mere concepts, we land in the realm of science. But we do not think with the perception or vision of a thing first. We think of it afterwards. That is to say, the course of human thought lies from the concrete to the abstract. The Buddhist method of philosophical training, as inculcated in the scheme of four *Satipatthanas*, is not to think first at all. The method of *Satipatthanas* requires us to reduce our-

selves to a perfect instrument for receiving and registering the experiences that occur, the phenomena that present themselves to our senses, external or internal. As soon as we generalise them we arrive at certain general terms or concepts. From the individuals we may proceed to the terms or concepts, but we cannot resolve the terms or concepts to restore the individuals that have changed or vanished in the meantime.

All the experiences that one may have of oneself and of otherselves or things may be brought under two concepts, *viz.*, *Nama* and *Rupa*; or under three concepts, *viz.*, *Rupa*, *Citta* and *Cetasika*; or under five concepts, *viz.*, *Rupa*, *Vedana*, *Sanna*, *Samkhara* and *Vinnana*, technically called the five *Khandhas* or aggregates.

Etymologically, *Rupa* is that which changes its form (*rupati*). According to Buddhism, knowledge grows by a proper comprehension of three facts: (*i*) that no creation is stable in form and in time, (*ii*) that therefore the form of every creation is ill and disappointing, and (*iii*) that therefore all creations are to be taken as dissembling (*cf. Dhammapada*, vv. 277-279). Buddhism, unlike the Upanisad doctrine, Jainism and other religions, stands for the doctrine of no-soul, *i.e.*, the unsubstantiality or fleating nature of mind or consciousness as well as of the world as a whole. Whatever is in reality or actuality is equally subject to the law of change (B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 168 ff.). In the Abhidhamma we have the expression *Sabbam rupam* (*i.e.*, all *rupa* or *rupa* as a whole). What is *Sabbam rupam*? The answer given is: The four *Mahabhutas* and all those which are derived therefrom. The four *Mahabhutas* are enumerated as *Pathavidhatu* (earth), *Apodhatu* (water), *Tejodhatu* (fire) and *Vayodhatu* (air), the term *dhatu* being generally translated by 'element'. According to the Buddhist scheme of thought, the element of *Vayo* or air is contained in and distinguished from *Akasa* (space or ether). Subjectively considered, each of these four *Mahabhutas* (primary elements or substances) is an essential quality of matter. Thus *Pathavidhatu* sometimes stands for the primary material quality of extension, *Apodhatu* for that of cohesion, *Tejodhatu* for that of heat, and *Vayodhatu* for that of motion. The total number of *Rupas*, as given in the Abhidhamma treaties, is twenty-eight, including the four *dhatus*. The four *dhatus* are distinguished as *Bhutarupas* (the elementary substances) from the rest which are described as *Upadarupas* (the derived substances).

The study of *Rupa* may be approached from two different standpoints, namely, objective and subjective, the concrete and the abstract.

The terms objective and subjective are, however, often misleading, for by subjective we sometimes mean that which is *ajjhattika* or belonging to the Self, and by objective we sometimes mean that which is *bahiraka* or belonging to the not-self. 'Your' body and 'my' body may also be relegated to the not-self and treated as such. Objectively viewed, *Rupa* is body or matter, and subjectively viewed it is only an aggregate of so many qualities of which we can have knowledge or experience with reference to the body or matter. In the Pali Suttas, the category or *Rupa* is generally considered objectively rather than subjectively. In the *Ruparupavibhaga* of Buddhadatta as well as in other Abhidhamma manuals, *Rupa* has been treated rather from the subjective point of view than from the objective. In the treatment of the subject in the *Dhammasangani* which is a manual of Buddhist psychological ethics, we find a consideration of both the standpoints, subjective and objective. Even viewed objectively, *Rupa* or matter may be considered in its different stages or forms of evolution. Suppose we relegate the whole of *Rupa* to the world of matter. What does then happen ? When the living beings are not, we may commonly persuade ourselves to believe that there remain only the four things or substances, called earth, water, fire and air. The Abhidhamma system of thought requires us to think at first of such a world of matter.

It was with reference to such a world of matter that the Jainas and the Ajivikas spoke of the earth, the water, the fire and the air as the four forms or species of matter-life or living matter. According to them, even a piece of rock, possessing some amount of individuality, distinctness, and power of action and resistance, is the form of life, the earth-life.

It was, again, with reference to the same world of matter that Ajita Kesakambali propounded that individual life emerges out of an organic combination of the four elementary substances of earth, water, fire and air, and at death when the organism begins to disintegrate, the earth in it returns to the element of earth, the water to water, the fire to heat, and the air to air ; while the senses pass back to *Akasa* or space, the region of ether.

A similar idea can be traced back even to some of the pre-Buddhistic Upanisads which tell us that the soul which is a mass of intelligence (*vijnanaghana*), having emerged from an organic combination of five elementary substances, vanishes with their disintegration.

Pakudha Kaccayana who was one of the leading thinkers of Northern India at the time of the rise of Buddhism, spoke of six or seven substances, namely, the earth, the water, the fire, the air, the ether and the spirit that perpetually integrate and disintegrate to create and destroy individuals, *sukha* (happiness) being the formative principle which brings about their integration, and *dukkha* (suffering) a destructive principle which brings about their disintegration.

Even in the Pali Dhatubibhanga Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikaya* (III, No. 140, 237 ff.), the Buddha is said to have spoken of the earth, the water, the fire, the air, the ether and consciousness as the six *dhatus* or the primary elements of experience appertaining to the world of nature and of life.

All these suggest that the philosophy of thought started in India, precisely as in Greece and other countries, from the concrete world of experience. In some of the Pali Suttas (*Majjhima Nikaya*, I, 421 ff.; III, 239 ff.), the four elements are so defined as to meet both the concrete and the abstract aspects of matter, that is to say, matter both as substance and quality. Earth, for instance, is defined as that which has hardness for its essential property and all that are known as hard substances. We are also told that earth may be treated as belonging to one's organism as well as that which belongs to the external world. The bone, for instance, represents earth belonging to the Self, while rock represents earth belonging to the external world. The same as to the remaining three elements. Thus through the anatomical study of our organism we can establish a correspondence between ourselves and the rest of things and realise that the same law of change applies to our body as to all other material things. The Buddhist treatment of the subject undoubtedly shows a tendency to proceed from the concrete to the abstract.

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AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC ILLUSION

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I

"....numerous survivals of the anthropocentric bias still remain and here (in sociology), as elsewhere, they bar the way to science. It displeases man to renounce the unlimited power over the social order he has so long attributed to himself; and on the other hand, it seems to him that, if collective forces really exist, he is necessarily obliged to submit to them without being able to modify them. This makes him inclined to deny their existence. In vain have repeated experiences taught him that this omnipotence, the illusion of which he complacently entertains, has always been a cause of weakness in him ; that his power over things really began only when he recognized that they have a nature of their own, and resigned himself to learning this nature from them. Rejected by all other sciences, this deplorable prejudice stubbornly maintains itself in sociology. Nothing is more urgent than to liberate our science from it, and this is the principal purpose of our efforts,"—Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, p. lviii (Chicago, 1938).

The belief that man controls his civilization is widespread and deeply rooted. Customs and institutions, tools and machines, science, art, and philosophy are but man's creations and are therefore here only to do his bidding. It lies within man's power, therefore, to chart his course as he pleases, to mould civilization to his desires and needs. At least so he fondly believes.

Thus we find a distinguished British scientist, the late Sir James Jeans, assuring us that

"We no longer believe that human destiny is a plaything for spirits, good and evil, or for the machinations of the Devil. There is nothing to prevent our making the earth a paradise again—except ourselves. The scientific age has dawned, and we recognise that man himself is the master of his fate, the captain of his soul. He

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controls the course of his ship, and so, of course, is free to navigate it into fair waters or foul, or even to run it on the rocks." [1]

Mr. Stanley Field, President of the Field Museum (now the Chicago Natural History Museum), appeals to anthropologists in espousing Free Will : [2]

"But if we listen to the anthropologists, who can scientifically demonstrate that it is not color of skin, or type of hair or features, or difference of religion, that creates problems between peoples, but factors for which man is responsible and which he can control or change if he will, then we shall at least come within sight of that better world which we now realize we must achieve if we are not finally to perish as victims of our own perversity."

Professor Lewis G. Westgate, in an article in Scientific Monthly, tells us that man can "take the problem of his future in hand and solve it". : [3]

"The mind that can weigh the infinitely distant stars....track down the minute carriers of disease....dig the Panama Canal.... can solve its social problems when and if it decides to do so."

It would thus seem that the salvation of an earlier era has become the social reconstruction of today : we can achieve it if we will ; if we fail it is because of our "perversity."

Father Wilhelm Schmidt, the leader of the *Kulturkreis* School of ethnology, and his disciples in America firmly believe in free will ; indeed, it appears to be one of their cardinal principles. And even V. Gordon Childe, whose work is for the most part infused with the spirit of scientific materialism and determinism, says, in a book significantly entitled *Man Makes Himself*, that "changes in culture ....can be initiated, controlled, or delayed by the conscious and deliberate choice of their human authors and executors." (p. 19 ; London, 1936).

When, however, we look for examples of man's control over culture we begin first to wonder, then to doubt. We will not begin our inquiry by asking if two World Wars in one generation are evidence of planning or perversity, or whether Germany and Japan were crushed

1. Essay in *Living Philosophies*, p. 109 (New York, 1931).
2. "Fifty Years of Progress," p. 9 (Field Museum News, Vol. 14, 1943).
3. "Man's Long Story," p. 165 (Vol. 57, 1943).

and Soviet Russia made dominant in Eurasia in accordance with a far-sighted plan or as a result of blindness and folly. We will start with something much more modest. During the last century we have witnessed attempts to control tiny and relatively insignificant segments of our culture, such as spelling, the calendar, the system of weights and measures, to name but a few. There have been repeated and heroic attempts to simplify spelling and make it more rational, to devise a more rational calendar, and to adopt an ordered system of weights and measures instead of the cumbersome, illogical agglomeration of folk measurements we now use. But what successes can we point to? Reform in spelling has been negligible. We have succeeded to a considerable extent but not wholly in eliminating the *u* from such words as *honor*. But to do away with silent letters, such as the *b* in *lamb*, is too big a mountain for us to move. And such spellings-and-pronunciations as *rough*, *cough*, *dough*, and *through* are much too strong to yield to our puny efforts. It usually takes a great political and social upheaval to effect a significant change in spelling or a calendrical system as the French and Bolshevik revolutions have made clear. And as for the metric system, it has found a place among the little band of esoterics in science, but yards, ounces, rods, pints, and furlongs still serve—awkwardly and inefficiently—the layman.

We begin to wonder. If we are not able to perform such tiny and insignificant feats as eliminating the *b* from *lamb*, or modifying our calendar system, how can we hope to construct a new social order on a worldwide scale?

Let us look about us further. Men and women are forever contending with fashions. Man perenially rebels against his attire. It is often uncomfortable, injurious to the health at times, and, some men think, the ordinary costume is unesthetic, the formal attire ridiculous. But what can he do? He must wear his coat and tie no matter how hot the weather. He is not permitted to wear pink or blue shoes. And as for "evening clothes"—he must submit to them or stay home. Man's vaunted control over civilization is not particularly conspicuous in this sector.

But if man is helpless, woman is an abject slave, in the grip of fashion. She must submit to any change, no matter how fantastic or ugly. To be sure, she may not realize that the new designs are fantastic and ugly at the time; "the latest style" can becloud woman's judgment. But one has only to browse through an album

of old snapshots to realize that beauty, grace, and charm do not dominate the course of fashion.

And as for women's skirts! First they are short; then they are long. A distinguished anthropologist, Professor A. L. Kroeber of the University of California, has made a very interesting and revealing study of the dimensions of women's dresses over a considerable period of time. He found that 'the basic dimensions of modern European feminine dress alternate with fair regularity between maxima and minima which in most cases average about fifty years apart so that the full-wave length of their periodicity is around a century."[4] The rhythms are regular and uniform. Women have nothing to say about it. Even the designers and creators must conform to the curve of change. We find no control by man—or woman—here, only an inexorable and impersonal trend. When a maximum point on the curve is reached, the trend is reversed and skirts lengthen or shorten as the case may be. Women are helpless; they can do nothing but follow the trend. When the curve ascends they must shorten their dresses; when it descends, they must lengthen them. It may seem remarkable that a great class of citizens who cannot even control the dimensions of their own skirts will nevertheless organize themselves into clubs, to administer the affairs of the world. We shall return to this point later.

Few men would undertake to repair an automobile or a radio without some understanding of its mechanism. We tend more and more nowadays to leave medicine and surgery to those who know how. Knowledge and skill are required even to make good pies or home brew. But in matters of society and culture everyone feels qualified to analyse, diagnose, and prescribe. It is one of the premises of democracy that not only do the people rule, but they have the requisite knowledge and understanding to do it effectively. In matters political one man's view is as good as another's.

When, however, we examine the knowledge and understanding with which the affairs of the nation are administered we begin again to wonder. We find the most august authorities espousing different and even contradictory views on such subjects as inflation, the function of labor leaders, the divorce rate, the popularity of crooners, and so on. This is a picture of the anarchy of ignorance, not of wisdom.

4. A. L. Kroeber and Jane Richardson, "Three Centuries of Women's Dress Fashions," p. 148 (Anthropological Records, Vol. 5, No. 2, Berkeley, 1940).

When we turn from matters of national proportions, such as the cause of inflation, to lesser problems we are not always reassured. Does capital punishment diminish the number of murders? Does the use of alcohol affect the divorce rate? Why do people keep dogs? They are noisy, dirty, unhealthful, useless, and expensive. To say that they are kept because people like them is merely to phrase the problem in a different form. Why don't they "like" raccoons? They are cute, cleanly in their habits, and very amiable.

The fact is, we don't really know very much about the civilization we live in. Let us take one of the simplest and most elementary questions imaginable: Why does our society prohibit polygamy? Other societies permit plural mates, and Western Europe once did, also. But now we feel very strongly about it. We will put a man in a prison for years if he takes unto himself more than one wife at one time. His wives may be perfectly satisfied with the arrangement and he may have injured no one. Yet we put him in gaol.* Why? Why not have one more wife and one less school marm?

There are, to be sure, ready answers to these questions: polygamy is "wrong," "immoral," "undemocratic," etc. But practices are not prohibited because they are "wrong"; they are wrong because they have been prohibited. It is not wrong to buy and sell whisky now; it was while the Eighteenth Amendment was on the books. And as for democracy and equality, we permit a man to have two yachts if he can afford them, why not two wives?

I know of no really adequate answer to this question in such literature of social science as I am acquainted with. As a matter of fact, the question is very seldom raised. I have looked for it in a great number of treatises on sociology and anthropology written during the last quarter century without finding it. Some social scientists of the latter half of the Nineteenth century tried to explain the prohibition of polygamy but we cannot accept their conclusions.

The fact is we are ignorant. We do not know the solution to such an elementary problem as singular or plural mates. And in our day, we have not reached the point of asking such questions, to

* We recall a recent instance in which a man was sent to the penitentiary for marrying some twelve women without ever bothering with the ritual of divorce. Had he been less honorable or chivalrous and lived with each woman without the formality of marriage, his "crime" would have been much less. This man served society well in a municipal railway system. His numerous wives pressed no complaint. Why did society feel it necessary to incarcerate him?

say nothing of answering them. As Archibald McLeish has said, "We know all the answers, but we have not yet asked the questions." Over a half-century ago the great French savant, Emile Durkheim, commented upon the immaturity of social science as follows : [5]

"In the present state of the science we really do not even know what are the principal social institutions, such as the state, or the family ; what is the right of property or contract....We are almost completely ignorant of the factors on which they depend.... ; we are scarcely beginning to shed even a glimmer of light on some of these points. Yet one has only to glance through the works on sociology to see how rare is the appreciation of this ignorance and these difficulties."

Despite the progress that has been made since *The Rules* was written, this statement has a certain relevance today. If the science of society and civilization is still so immature as to be unable to solve such tiny and elementary problems as the prohibition of polygamy, where are the knowledge and understanding requisite to planning a new social system, to constructing a new world order ? One would not expect a savage craftsman, whose best tools are made of chipped flint, to design and build a locomotive.

Let us have a look at this civilization man thinks he controls. The first thing we notice is its antiquity. There is no part of it, whether it be technology, institutions, science or philosophy, that does not have its roots in the remote past. The lens of the new 200-inch telescope, for example, is made of glass. Glass emerged from the manufacture of faience in ancient Egypt, which in turn originated apparently as a by-product of burning bricks and pottery, which followed the use of sun-dried brick, and, earlier, mud daubs of Neolithic or even Paleolithic huts. The United Nations can be traced back to primitive tribal councils and beyond. Modern mathematics goes back to counting on one's fingers, and so on. Culture is as old as man himself. It had its beginnings a million odd years ago when man first started to use articulate speech, and it has continued and developed to the present day. Culture is a continuous, cumulative, and progressive affair.

Everyone—every individual, every generation, every group—has, since the very earliest period of human history, been born into

[5]. *Op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

a culture, a civilization, of some sort. It might be simple, crude and meagre, or it might be highly developed. But all cultures, whatever their respective degrees of development, have technologies (tools, machines), social systems (customs, institutions), beliefs (lore, philosophy, science) and forms of art. This means that when a baby is born into a cultural milieu, he will be influenced by it. As a matter of fact, his culture will determine how he will think, feel, and act. It will determine what language he will speak, what clothes, if any, he will wear, what gods he will believe in, how he will marry, select and prepare his foods, treat the sick, and dispose of the dead. What else *could* one do but react to the culture that surrounds him from birth to death? No people makes its own culture; it inherits it ready made from its ancestors or borrows it from its neighbors.

It is easy enough for man to believe that he has made his culture, each generation contributing its share, and that it is he who controls and directs its course through the ages. Does he not chip the arrowheads and stone-axes, build carts and dynamoes, coin money and spend it, elect presidents and depose kings, compose symphonies and carve statues, worship gods and wage war? But one cannot always rely upon the obvious. It was once obvious that the earth remained stationary while the sun moved; anyone could see that for himself. We are now approaching a point in modern thought where we are beginning to suspect that it is not man who controls culture but the other way around. The feat of Copernicus in dispelling the geocentric illusion over four hundred years ago is being duplicated in our day by the culturologist who is dissipating the anthropocentric illusion that man controls his culture.

Although it is man who chips arrowheads, composes symphonies, etc., we cannot explain culture merely by saying that "man produced it." There is not a single question that we would want to ask about culture that can be answered by saying "Man did thus and so." We want to know why culture developed as it did; why it assumed a great variety of forms while preserving at the same time a certain uniformity, why the rate of cultural change has accelerated. We want to know why some cultures have money and slaves while others do not; why some have trial by jury, others ordeal by magic; why some have kings, others chiefs or presidents; why some use milk, others loathe it; why some permit, others prohibit, polygamy. To explain all these things by saying, "Man wanted them that way" is of course absurd. A device that explains everything explains nothing.

Before we go very far we discover that we must disregard man entirely in our efforts to explain cultural growth and cultural differences—in short, culture or civilization as a whole. Man may be regarded as a constant so far as cultural change is concerned. Man is one species and, despite differences of skin, eye, and hair color, shape of head, lips, and nose, stature, etc., which after all are superficial, he is highly uniform in such fundamental features as brain, bone, muscle, glands, and sense organs. And he has undergone no appreciable evolutionary change during the last 50,000 years at least. We may, therefore, regard man as a constant both with regard to the races extant today, and with regard to his ancestors during the last tens of thousands of years. Man has a certain structure and certain functions; he has certain desires and needs. These are related to culture, of course, but only in a *general*, not a specific, way. We may say that culture as a whole serves the needs of man as a species. But this does not and cannot help us at all when we try to account for the variations of specific cultures. You cannot explain variables by appeal to a constant. You cannot explain the vast range of cultural variation by invoking man, a biological constant. In England in A.D. 1500 there was one type of culture; in Japan, another. Neither culture can be explained in terms of the physical type associated with it. Culture underwent change in England between A.D. 1500 and 1900, as it did in Japan. But these changes cannot be explained by pointing to the inhabitants in each case; they did not change. Plainly, we cannot explain cultures in terms of Man.

Nor can cultural differences be explained in terms of environment. Quite apart from the difficulty of accounting for differences in musical styles, forms of writing, codes of etiquette, rules of marriage, mortuary rites, etc., in terms of environment, we soon discover that even economic, industrial, and social systems cannot be so explained. The environment of Central Europe so far as climate, flora, fauna, topography, and mineral resources are concerned has remained constant for centuries. The culture of the region, however, has varied enormously. Here again we see the fallacy of explaining the variable by appeal to a constant.

If, then, we cannot explain cultures in terms of race or physical type, or in terms of psychological processes, and if appeal to environment is equally futile, how *are* they to be accounted for and made intelligible to us?

There seems to be only one answer left and that is fairly plain—after one becomes used to it, at least. Cultures must be explained in terms of culture. As we have already noted, culture is a continuum. Each trait or organization of traits, each stage of development, grows out of an earlier cultural situation. The steam engine can be traced back to the origins of metallurgy and fire. International cartels have grown out of all the processes of exchange and distritution since the Old Stone Age and before. Our science, philosophy, religion, and art have developed out of earlier forms. Culture is a vast stream of tools, utensils, customs, beliefs that are constantly interacting with each other, creating new combinations and syntheses. New elements are added constantly to the stream; obsolete traits drop out. The culture of today is but the cross-section of this stream at the present moment, the resultant of the age-old process of interaction, selection, rejection, and accumulation that has preceded us. And the culture of tomorrow will be but the culture of today plus one more day's growth. The numerical coefficient of today's culture may be said to be 365,000,000 (*i.e.*, a million years of days); that of tomorrow: 365,000,000 + 1. The culture of the present was determined by the past and the culture of the future will be but a continuation of the trend of the present. Thus, in a very real sense *culture makes itself.* At least, if one wishes to explain culture scientifically, he must proceed *as if* culture made itself, *as if* man had nothing to do with the determination of its course or content. Man must *be* there, of course, to make the existence of the culture process possible. But the nature and behavior of the process itself is self-determined. It rests upon its own principles; it is governed by its own laws.

Thus, culture makes man what he is and at the same time makes itself. An Eskimo, Bantu, Tibetan, Swede, or American is what he is, thinks, feels, and acts as he does, because his culture influences—"stimulates"—him in such a way as to evoke these responses. The Eskimo or American has had no part in producing the culture into which he was thrust at birth. It was already there; he could not escape it; he could do nothing but react to it, and that on its own terms. The English language, the Christian religion, our political institutions, our mills, mines, factories, railroads, telephones, armies, navies, race tracks, dance halls, and all the other thousands of things that comprise our civilization are here in existence today. They have weight, mass, and momentum. They cannot be made to disappear by waving a wand, nor can their structure and behavior be

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Irish Note

There never was a dearth of Irish writers serving English literature. Up from Geoffrey Keating (1570-1644) and Jonathan Swift *via* Richard Brinsley Sheridan and William Drennan (1754-1820) down to Tom Moore and the great Bernard Shaw still going strong with his *Shakes* vs *Shaw*—the climax of his dramatic career—many men have wielded their pen and perhaps found fitting niches in the history of English Literature. But there were few real interpreters of Ireland to England. Swift, Sheridan and Shaw were Irish writers, but they belonged entirely to the English tradition. It was only in the later years of the 19th century that an attempt at a celtic revival was made in the field of English Literature. A volume called *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland (1888)* was a visible sign of that attempt. It contained verses by old writers like George Sigerson as well as those by such poets of the new school as the author of *The Countess Kathleen*—William Butler Yeats. The influence of the Irish revival was however specially felt at the theatre—A.E., Edward Martyn, Yeats, Synge and Lady Gregory being the most popular dramatists of the time.

Among prose-writers, it was T. C. Croker who first raised the treatment of national stories to the level of an art. William Carleton and the brothers John and Michael Banim followed suit. Patrick Kennedy was a genuine writer of Irish folk-tales and the archaeological works of George Petrie were masterpieces of reasoning. Petrie's collection of Irish traditional songs gave currency to the now popular " Londondevy Air." In some of Duglas Hyde's works one can still find the beauty of the English language touched here and there to an appealing strangeness by the Goetic way of speech, with its peculiar turns and twists. The bardic nature of their work, again, made it impossible, for the Irish writers to be attracted by the most popular form of literary art—the ' novel '.

Perhaps the bardic nature stood in the way of the thriving of the Anglo-Irish prose. Pure prose, in other words, the " Essay " was

conspicuous by its absence till recently. In this sphere Robert Lynd "was like a star, and dwelt apart" for the last few decades. It was he who has been keeping up the standard of pure Anglo-Irish literature all these years. By combining at once a geniality—characteristic of the Irish temperament—a delightful humour and an instructive subject-matter, Lynd deserves to be styled " the greatest exponent of modern Anglo-Irish, nay, even English prose."

Life and Death

It was published about a month ago in newspapers all over the world that Robert S. Lynd, the *New Statesman* essayist with the pen-name " Y. Y." had passed away at the age of 70. It is worth our while to catch a glimpse of his literary and general career. Born in Belfast in 1879 Mr. Lynd had been educated at the Royal Academical Institution and later at Queen's College, Belfast. He became the Literary Editor of the Daily News and subsequently a regular contributor to the *New Statesman and Nation.* This practice he carried on for several years under his well-known pen-name "Y.Y." It was in his *New Statesman* essays or *belles lettres* (if you like it) that he so cultivated that fine art of the familiar essayist as to make his essays later on indispensable to the anthology-compilers. In point of fact, the writer of this article has beside him a number of anthologies of the time—none of which could afford, no doubt, to do without a piece from Lynd.

Journalism

As things stand at the time of writing this essay, this Irish writer has become part and parcel of modern English prose literature, so to say. Wherein lies his secret of success? (One would naturally like to know.) As we all know, this twentieth century is remarkable for the wonderful progress of journalism. The newspaper has been the means by which useful information and delightful thoughts could be propagated at the cheapest expense to the rich and poor alike all the world over. And the daily newspaper, for obvious reasons, adopts a style of conveying its messages to the people, which is universally understandable. Now, Robert Lynd's style so adequately suited the requirements of effective journalism that it became immensely successful. Whatever the subject, readers of the *New Statesman and the Nation* were never disappointed in their expectation

of something exceedingly delightful from the weekly messages from "Y.Y.". In this context, we shall profit by remembering the following observation made by Sir A. C. Benson in his *The Art of the Essayist*:—

CRITERIA OF AN ESSAY

"An essay is a thing which someone does himself, and the point of the essay is not the subject, for any subject will suffer, but the charm of personality."……

One does not go to an essayist with a desire for information or with an expectation of finding a clear statement of a complicated subject; that is not the mood in which one takes up a volume of essays. What one rather expects to find is a companionable treatment of the vast mass of little problems and floating ideas which are aroused and evoked by our passage through the world, our daily employment, our leisure hours, our amusements and diversions, and above all, by our relations with other people—all the unexpected inconsistent various simple stuff of life."

All these requirements may be traced in the passage quoted below which forms the concluding paragraph of his famous essay on *Forgetting*:—

"……At the same time, ordinarily good memory is so common that we regard a man who does not possess it as eccentric. I have heard of a father, who, having offered to take the baby out in a perambulator, was tempted by the sunny morning to pause on his journey and slip into a public house for a glass of beer. Leaving the perambulator outside, he disappeared through the door of the saloon bar. A little later, his wife had do some shopping which took her past the public-house, where to her horror she discovered her sleeping baby. Indignant at her husband's behaviour, she decided to teach him a lesson. She wheeled away the perambulator, picturing to herself his terror when he would come out and find the baby gone. She arrived home, anticipating with angry relish the white face and quivering lips that would soon appear with the news that the baby had been stolen. What was her vexation, however, when just before lunch her husband came in smiling cheerfully and asking: 'Well, my dear, what's for lunch to-day?' having forgotten all about the baby and the fact that he had taken it out with him. How many men below the rank of a philosopher would be capable of such absent mindedness as this? Most of us, I fear, are born

with prosaically efficient memories. If it were not so, the institution of the family could not survive in any great modern city."

Comparison with Goldsmith and other essayists

In his delightful 'sallies of wit' he has been said to have been 'confidential' in the manner of Lamb, 'reflective' like Stevenson, 'intelligent' like Belloc, apparently iconoclastic like Chesterton, irresistively humorous like Lucas, and a pleasing story-teller like Goldsmith. Indeed, he combined all these qualities in his writings, as may be seen in his so many belles lettrés that lie scattered in contemporary anthologies. I wish to draw the reader's attention to the converse proposition as well. To the same extent as he resembled the aforesaid men of letters, his style was absolutely free from the cloggish mannerisms of Stevenson, the urbanity of Lamb, the whimsicality of Chesterton, or for the matter of that, the clownishness of Hillaire Belloc—He resembled Goldsmith, of them all, most. But then he had the advantage of time of which Goldsmith had been deprived. The English language had been shorn of many of its Victorian oddities and clumsiness during the years that passed between these two exponents of English prose. In other words, Lynd's style was simply an age racier than Goldsmith's or Lamb's.

How very closely Lynd resembled Goldsmith can be shown by giving below passage from either. Here is one from Lynd's *The Money-Lenders*:—

"The only other dealings I ever had with money-lenders occurred about the same time, and they also were of a kind rather disturbing to the rosy optimism of youth. A poor woman called on me one day and reminded me that I had once known one of her second cousins. Having established this sentimental link between us, she told me that she had been behaving rather foolishly and, in order to pay her debts, had had to borrow £20. She asked me if I would mind signing a bill for it as a matter of form. I assured her that I hadn't twenty pounds in the world. 'It doesn't matter,' she told me. 'It's only a question of writing your signature. You'll never hear of it again.' I accordingly put on my hat and went out with her to a money-lender's, where we both wrote our signatures, and she got the £20.

Everything went swimmingly for the first three or four weeks. I had an enthusiastic letter from her, in which she told me that she was paying off the debt in instalments and offered me a four-leaved shamrock, but I said that I could't dream of taking such a precious

mascot from her. She replied ecstatically, saying that she was still paying the instalments and that, if at my time she failed to do so, I was at liberty to tell her second cousin. I wrote back, almost on the verge of tears, assuring her that I had the utmost confidence in her, and telling her that I wouldn't dream of saying anything about the matter to her second cousin. A month later, I had a letter from the money-lender, saying that the lady whose bill I had backed had fallen into arrears with her payments and asking what I thought of doing about it. I wrote back urging him to write to her. I even wrote to her myself, expressing the hope that she was well, and explaining that the money-lender seemed to be getting anxious about his money. Some days later the letter came back marked, 'Not known.' I wrote again to the address that she had given me, and learned that she had gone away, leaving no address. Meanwhile the money-lender kept sending me letters and calling round on me, and, indeed, harassing me to such an extent that in the end I saw I should have no peace till I paid the money myself. In the result, I borrowed three weeks' salary in advance from the office in which I worked and went round to the money-lender and brought back my signature. It was the highest price, I may say, that has ever been paid for anything I have written. Mr. Arnold Bennett, I believe, gets something between a shilling and a guinea a word. But those two words that I wrote were, even in the illiterate eyes of a money-lender, reckoned to be worth between six and seven pounds each."

Compare with this passage the well-known discourse about the Man-in-black so charmingly done by Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*:—

"It is impossible to describe with what an air of triumph my friend marched off with his new purchase; he assured me, that he was firmly of opinion that those fellows must have stolen their goods, who could thus afford to sell them for half value. He informed me of several different uses to which those chips might be applied; he expatiated largely upon the savings that would result from lighting candles with a match, instead of thrusting them into the fire. He averred, that he would as soon have parted with a tooth as give (?) this money to those vagabonds, unless for some valuable consideration. I cannot tell how long this panegyric upon frugality and matches might have continued, had not his attention been called off by another object more distressful than either of the former. A woman in rags, with one child in her arms, and another on her back, was attempting

to sing ballads, but with such a mournful voice that it was difficult to determine whether she was singing or crying. A wretch, who in the deepest distress still aimed at good humour, was an object my friend was by no means capable of withstanding: his vivacity and his discourse were instantly interrupted; upon this occasion, his very dissimulation had forsaken him. Even in my presence he immediately applied his hands to his pockets, in order to relieve her; but guess his confusion when he found he had already given away all the money he carried about him to former objects. The misery painted in the woman's visage was not half so strongly expressed as the agony in his. He continued to search for some time, but to no purpose, till, at length recollecting himself with a face of ineffable good nature, as he had no money, he put into her hands his shilling's worth of matches."

You will find it hard to tell the writer of the one from the writer of the other passage. In fact, you will hear two observers of human nature talking to the English public in clear English language but in a characteristic Irish way.

Special qualities of his style

It appears Lynd set to work with the conviction that roughly what interested him would interest a great many other people. It was not exactly what Priestley would call "cynical clowning for some mysterious mob"; his work was based on the quite reasonable presumption that the common reader must have the "human interest" at all costs. There lay the key to a popular writer's popularity. The 'personal note' in his short essay never missed the mark. He never cherished the snobbish idea that the readers will not have the culture necessary for appreciating his humour. In other words, he never under-estimated his readers. He delighted the common reader with his intelligent propositions, no doubt, but at the same, he instructed the latter by bringing home trenchant observations *by way of enjoyable reconteur*. How beautifully he mixes 'instruction' with 'delight' in the following passage from his brilliant discourse on *Going Abroad*:—

"Time passes, however, and, even though abroad, we begin to feel at home. Things no longer please us merely because they are novel. We pass the shops with as little interest as if they bore above their windows such accustomed inscriptions as 'Family Butcher', 'Stationer,' or 'Italian Warehousemen'! We cease to notice that the policemen look different from any other policemen. The trams no

longer excite us by their unusual colour and design. The streets become our familiar walks. We find it extraordinarily easy to pass a church without going inside. The flavour of the food becomes monotonous. Our palate recovers its rectitude, and becomes critical of the wires. We realise that we were the victims of an illusion, and that we could have preserved the illusion only by going further and reviving it in another country, or, at last, in another town."

From the above excerpt it is clear that Lynd had a deep insight into human nature. It is also clear that he was a keen observer of human conduct. What is more—he had that rare gift of making people of less deep insight and less keen observation see through his analysis and see clearly.

Lynd is also clever enough to make it a point when writing, not to over-estimate his reader's intellectual capacities. He therefore prepares the ground for sometime before attempting to drive home a home truth by way of his characteristic epigrammatic observations. In other words, this "ground preparing" habit may be styled as "bringing up the reader" or "putting him on the track." His apparently "iconoclastic" remarks he substantiates generally with solid facts and commonsense reasoning. The following extract from his discourse on *Silence* will speak for itself:—

"It is not only in our social life, however, that we dread silence. We love noise more than we know, even when no other human being is present. When we go from town to live in the country we deceive ourselves if we think we are doing so in order to exchange noise for quietness. We go into the country, not in order to escape from noise but in search of a different kind of noise. Sit on a country garden in May, and you will notice that the noise is continuous. The birds are as loquacious as women: the bees as inimical to silence as children. Cocks crow, hens cackle, dogs bark, sheep baa, cartwheels crunch, and the whole day passes in a succession of sounds which would drive us to distraction if we were really devotees of silence. When evening falls, and the voice of the last cuckoo fades into an universal stillness, we are aware of a new awe as of something supernatural. The fear of the dark is largely a fear of silence. It is difficult to believe that the world is entirely uninhabited, and, if it is not filled with the noise of men and animals, we begin—at least, a good many of us do—to suspect the silent presence of something unseen and terrible. Noise is companionship, and I remember that I, as a child, liked even the ticking of a clock in the bedroom.

How good it was, too, to open the bedroom window and hear the pleasant prose of a cornerake coming from the meadows through the darkness! There are sounds that are terrifying at night, but they are chiefly so because of the stillness that is broken by them. The breathing of a cow behind a hedge, as you pass along a silent road at midnight, may startle you, but it is not the cow, it is the silence, that has startled you. If nature, indeed, could contrive to maintain all her busy sounds through the night, darkness would lose more than half its terrors."

The above passage testifies adequately to certificate for treating readers " sympathetically " that Lynd has won from discerning critics. Therein again comes the unseen hand of journalism. The modern ' free lance ' knows his market too well to be ' obscure.' Lynd has all along his career kept such a wonderful balance between over-estimation of his readers and under-estimation of his reader as never to touch the finges of either extreme. This alone paved the path for his march into the newspaper market. He knew his readers, he knew what they liked to read, and he catered to their taste. And as a fitting finale to his long essay-writing career, he stood head and shoulders above all those contemporaries whom he resembled and with whom, more often than not, he had been critically compared.

Another feature of his ' style ' that we should like to discuss is its ' pleasing ' nature. Indeed, in this case at least, the " style shows the man." The same charming personality can be traced without much effort in all Lynd's works. It does not really matter with Lynd as to what subject, he harps upon. We have quoted above extracts from his reflective ' familiar essay,' on the Money-Lenders, on Going Abroad, silence, and even on forgetting. He is equally at home when dealing with such purely descriptive essay say *seaside* or with such critical estimates as the Introduction to Methuen's Anthology of Modern Verse (edited by Robert and Sylvia Lynd). The charm, the ease and the distinctiveness of the style is the same. Here is an example of his graceful description of the seaside:—

"Waves of butterflies seen to rise from the sands and to pour tremulously over the sandhills. It is impossible to tell where they come from. They might be born of the sand, of the sea, or the sun for all the eye can tell. Never before have I seen white butterflies, foes of cabbages and of gardeners, in such numbers. They flow inwards like a tide. Thy, stagger over the hills like armed men. I do not know how long this goes on, for ten minutes after I have

begun to notice it, lunch is ready at the hotel, and I have have not the courage to be late for lunch. The sandhills, however, are never free from butterflies. Brown, white and dappled red, they wander all day among these barren heights and hollows, like creatures of the first world that rose and became dry above the waters. Bees, too, are here, black and red, getting a living among the blue flowers of the sea-holly, and the great drifts of sand are marked with the foot prints of birds and rabbits and creatures as small as mice, ... ".

Vivid and impressive the description is! His power of giving his writings a good-humoured and rational shape and of establishing a sort of pleasant friendship with his reader was not an ordinary one; and it was his own.

Another subtlety in his writings worth noticing is his remarkable fondness and ability to harp upon variations, certainly less occasionally than upon the main theme. This tripping from one mood to another is particularly to be noticed and might be attributed to him as one of his distinctive notes. From the gay to the sober, from the reflective to the half-reflective, half-witty, from the purely descriptive to the purely critical manner, throughout the entire range of his panoramic narration in course of an essay, there was the unmistakable "Lynd touch," the "one style," as Wendell Wilkie would have perhaps liked to call it. Take, for instance, this gem of a critical estimate of modernist poetry appearing in the Introduction to a Book of Modern Verse published by Methuen:—

"Civilised human beings cannot be content to live like desert tribesmen, ignorant of what it is that makes life significant and rich. They live under a constant pressure of mechanical needs, like animals and savages. But even the fullest satisfaction of these needs leaves them only animals and savages. They must have something else—the something else that makes man a master, that satisfies his hunger for reality the poets, like the religious teachers, the historians, and the astronomers, help to satisfy their hunger. We may live opposite to an advertisement boarding and be overwhelmed by a sense of the visible commonness of things; but Mr. Davies will transform the world back into the likeliness of reality with an image of a waterfall. He will do more for us than this. Even when we live, not among advertisement hoardings, but among green and singing things, we are creatures of indolent and occasional sight and hearing. To read him is to see with new eyes, to hear with new ears. He invites us to a more intense experience of eye and ear than we have before known.

Like Mr. De la Mare, he bids us look on all things lovely as longingly as though it were for the last time.

A rainbow and a cuckoo's song
May never come together again.

Perhaps, however, one could define the different qualities of De la Mare's and Mr. Davies's poetry better by saying that, while Mr. De la Mare has the genius for making us look on lovely things as though for the last time, Mr. Davies has a gift for making us look at them as if for the first time. When we read his poem on the robin:

"That little hunchback in the snow, we feel as if we had never perfectly seen a robin before."

This is how Lynd carries away his rather strange 'exposition' to an almost obvious 'catastrophe' via a 'climax' of mingled joy and thought. At the outset, in most cases, the unaccustomed reader gets a pleasant surprise or rather a mild surprise; for, of course, Lynd starts with an almost Shavian statement like "We love noise more than we know, even when no other human being is present." But, then, as in all other arts perhaps, the starting point of his essay is not its finishing point. He sets out propounding his theorem, making the procedure as interesting as one possibly can make; and, when the proposition is established, we find ourselves converted long before we finished reading the essay.

No greater tribute can be paid to his insight into human nature and his power of observation than this generalization about his essays that it is not long before the reader gets on thinking, "well, I have often thought all those things, but I never discerned before any connexion between them nor got so far as to put them into words."

A DREAM OF GREATER BENGAL AND GREATER INDIA

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THE Himalayan zone of Eastern India comprises the states of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the easternmost aboriginal areas of the Miris, Akas, Mishmis, Abors and Singphos etc. For the protection of Greater Bengal which includes Assam and Bihar as also *vice versa*, this Himalayan area needs to be joined with Eastern India. These hill-states and areas have far greater economic and cultural relationship with the plains of Bengal proper and Assam than with other parts of India. The first stage of Bengali language in the 'Charyyā-padas' has been traced in Nepal, and this language was in use in Bhutan, as the Bengali language used in the paper of the commercial treaty between E. I. Company and Bhutan will prove. The Saiva and the Nathpanthi cults including Tantrikism also combined these Hill-tracts and Valleys with Bengal and other parts of India into a very close and indissoluble union.

Next, the tract of country around the state of Bastar is known as the Chhatisgarh Division of C.P. But more properly this Austric area of the Gonds, full of hills and jungles and very meagrely populated, has stronger bond of unity with Orissa and Kaliṅga (North Madras or Northern Circars) than with C.P. So East India has more claims to this area than that of Western or Southern India.

The Kaliṅga country is now considered as within the Andhra land. But this is a misnomer and nothing else. Besides the two Districts of Vizagapatam and Godavery, the rest of the land is not at all Dravidian. Beyond the Mahanady river to the south, up to the Mahendra Hills of the Ganjam District, Orissa claims as its natural frontier, while a large portion of land to the east of the Bastar state is also non-Dravidian. Considering all these circumstances, the natural frontier line of East-India to its south should be the Godavery river.

Perhaps, we have dealt in a summary fashion the claims of different Provinces and localities to be included within Eastern India and Greater Bengal. The various aspects of the subject, such as,

economic, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, geographical, political and defence, require elaborate treatment backed by statistical information. But, we regret, detailed treatment of these various topics and problems is not possible here for the shortness of space.

Eastern India has a different cultural and political outlook from the rest of India and in this matter Bengal always takes the lead as the most advanced area, not only in Eastern India but also in the whole of this sub-continent. Its varieties in population and race admixture, the Tantrik outlook as opposed to the Pauranik, its philosophy and culture, social organisation, with an intelligentsia middle-class, manners and customs etc. all distinguish Bengal from the rest of India. When the rest of India followed a particular thought in religion, Eastern India dissented and found Tantrikism, Buddhism and Jainism, and Bengal always took the lead. The propagation of the Sākta faith and the discovery of Gauriya Vaisnavism are also Bengal's special contributions. In this manner when Mithila specialised in the philosophy of Nyāya, Bengal dissented and evolved the school of Navya-Nyāya with four different schools of commentaries. Bengal also spared more space to the schools of Sānkhya and the Yoga philosophy than the school of the Vedānta which found a fertile soil to grow in the South-India. The Sākta, Saiva and the Nath cults were more favoured by the ancient Bengalis than the other peoples of India and Bengal spread these cults to the neighbouring countries of the Far East, such as, Burma, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Bali etc., both by land and by the sea. The case of Mahāyāni Buddhism for its propagation in Tibet by the ancient Bengalis (*viz.*, Atish Dipankar, 11th century A.D. followed by Sarat Chandra Das in the field of research) is also the same. Like Indo-China, Indonesia also received religious lessons from the ancient Bengali mariners and visitors like Atish Dipankar who spent about 14 years in Sumatra. Mercantile marine of ancient Bengal plied the deep travelling far and wide to Indonesia, Indo-China, China, Japan and sundry Pacific isles on the one side and Africa on the other. The rare Bongo deer of Cambodia (near Angkor-Bhat), Gaura bird of Indonesia, Baṅka island near Sumatra island, Bangli (Bali island), Banggai arch (Celebes island) and Benkulen (Indonesia)—all are reminiscent of ancient Bengal. In the Philippines the betel-leaf is known as Bongā. Who can tell whether Congo (Kaliṅga ?) Beṅguela (Baṅga ?) and Angola (Aṅga ?) of southern half of Africa remind one of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga lands of old India ? Bengali Maṅgalkāvyas of mediaeval period

supply valuable materials regarding these topics. Some Dravidian influence in the Far East cannot also be denied. Within India the Bangalore City of Mysore *i.e.*, "Baṅga" city (in south India "lore" means a city) and "Bāṅgāli" sea-port of north-Ceylon both signify Bengal's contact in old days.

Among other evidences like traditions and architectural remains, ancient literature and inscriptions of both Bengal and the Far East need to be specially mentioned. The mediaeval Bengali literature of the Maṅgal-Kāvya group (as already stated) contains many astounding references of ancient Bengali contact with the islands and countries contiguous and overseas through the descriptions of the many voyages of the traditional Bengali merchants. Many of these valuable references need due investigations and the fractions of poetic versions that have been recently enquired into found to be true to the letter. That the forefathers of the modern Bengalis once furrowed the deep and visited distant lands from China to Africa seem to be beyond doubt from the available sources of information.

In Eastern India the country known as Bengal expanded east and west at different times of her history. Besides race-fusions and race-migrations its people known as the Bengalis once spread their language, religion and culture far beyond the limits of their country. In this manner they have made the Brahmaputra Valley and a large portion of Utkal their own, and all the aboriginal tribal areas of East India from the river Son to the Patkoi Hills and beyond, up to the river "Irrawaddy" have come under their sphere of influence. This zone also includes the Himalayan region to the north of Bengal.

Thus within Eastern India we may draw a geographical dividing line signifying Bengali sphere of influence and call this area as "Greater Bengal" ("Mahā-Vaṅga" or "Vrihat-Vaṅga"). The boundary line to demarcate "Greater Bengal" from the rest of Eastern India ("Prāchya") may be drawn as follows :

To the north the Himalayas (inclusive) beyond which is Tibet, to the east the river Irrawaddy, to the south the Chin Hills (north of Arakan), the Bay of Bengal, the Mahanady river (Orissa) with slices of territory beyond it, to the west the Maikal range, the river Son, Gaya Hills, the river Phalgu and beyond the Ganges the river Buri-Gandak. So from the Eastern half of Nepal (if not the whole) to the eastern extremity of the Himalyan mountain range will be within limits of "Greater-Bengal."

To the south of Greater Bengal are the four provinces of the Eastern India ("Prāchya"). These are Chhattisgarh Division (including Bastar State) and Kaliṅga to the south-west and Arakan and Bassein to the south-east. "Greater Bengal" including these four provinces comprises what we call here the area of Eastern India ("Prāchya"). The Andamans, the Nicobers, the Mergui isles and Ceylon should all be included within the zone of Eastern India for their geographical position, ethnic connection as also defence consideration of Eastern India. A slice of Western Australia is also needed for Indian defences.

The three zones of Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines should be culturally and economically united with Eastern India. In fact, we consider "Greater India" extends from the Sulaiman range to its west to the Pacific to its east including the above three groups or zones consisting of many islands and continental Indo-China. This vast sub-continent admits of two broad divisions, *e.g.*, Eastern and Western. Leaving-out "Eastern India' 'the rest of "Greater India" to the west of the former is the Western division while with "Eastern India" the remaining area up to the Pacific is the Eastern division from ethnical and cultural points of view. The early Indian visitors to these innumerable islands and continental lands had Indian names for them as some are still in use or mispronounced. (*Cf.* Bali, Kamboj, Manilā or Manilla, Natuna-Dwipa Suvarnabhumi, Suvarna Dwipa-punja, Varuna-Dwipa (Borneo), Samar-Dwipa (the Philippines), Malay-Dwipa, Baṅka island etc., etc.) It will not be too much to hope that Tibet including Lhasa and the undefined territory to its east will some day form parts of Greater India.

A word may now be said to interpret the limits of the land called "Vaṅga". This word has both geographical and racial connotations. A very long time ago, in the Pre-historic period, some Austric tribes, possibly from the south-east Asia and beyond, entered the north-east India by sea. This happened before the Caucasian and Mongolian immigrations into India took place. These tribes were the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Sumha and Pundra. Of these tribes, the Vaṅgas attained the greatest celebrity and originally occupied the eastern part of the lower or Deltaic Bengal. The Aṅgas occupied the southern part of the present Bhagalpur Division of Bihar. The Kaliṅgas occupied the south-western seaboard of Bengal now occupied by Orissa and the northern part of the Province of Madras. The Pundras occupied the south-eastern part of the North-Bengal, specially the

Bogra District and the surrounding locality. The Sumhas occupied all lands of Bengal to the west of the Hooghly river, so long known as the Burdwan Division of the undivided Bengal.

During the rule of the Hindu Sena dynasty (11th-12th century A.D.), all lands of the late Presidency Division to the west of the Bhairab river and to the east of the Hooghly river, roughly speaking, was known as the Bagri province.

By Gaura was originally meant a city and a kingdom. The town was once the capital of Gopal, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, which ruled Bengal for a few centuries. The Sena dynasty also ruled from here. Then followed the Muslim rulers known as the Pathans followed by the Moghuls. During the Muslim rule, the capital was transferred to different places at different times owing to the ruin of the city due to pestilence. By Gaura land was at first meant the territory chiefly comprising the Districts of Maldah and Rajshahi (North-Bengal). The ruins of the city of Gaura which is now situated near the river Mahānandā in Maldah District once stood by the bank of the river Ganges which flowed by it. The Karatoa river was the eastern original boundary of Gaura kingdom as the Mahānandā river was its western boundary. Gaura ruled not only the major part of Bengal but also a large part of Eastern India. Karatoa river formed the boundary between the Gaura, Kamrup and Paundra-bardhan countries. Once the five powerful kingdoms of the North-India including Bengal was called "The Pañca (five) Gaura" and the five South-Indian kingdoms as "The Pañca Dravida." Sometimes the western half of Bengal proper was known as "Gaura" and the eastern half "Vaṅga". The Bengali Vaisnava literature termed the Bengalis as the Gauriās. From another term "Barind" (Upland) the expression "Barendra" originated. The whole of the North-Bengal chiefly to the south of the Teesta river is Barendra. Barind means "raised lands" which is the physical formation of a belt of land of the northern bank of the Ganges which forms the southern boundary of the North-Bengal once known as the Rajsahi Division of undivided Bengal.

Of the three Austric settlements of Bengal proper *e.g.*, Vaṅga, Pundra and Sumha, "Vaṅga" attained the greatest fame and Pundra (the land of the Paundras—the old city now identified with the ruins of Mahāsthāngarh, Bogra District) country the next. The two states have been mentioned, with regard, in the Epic Mahābhārata and the kingdom of Vaṅga also in the Rāmāyaṇa. Both the kingdoms

were once known for the prowess of their rulers. Paundraka Vāsudev, the ruler of Pundra or Paundra country, contemporary and rival of Sri Krishna, has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a very powerful ruler. Pundra was once a great land-power while Vaṅga was once very famous as a great sea-power.

This name "Vaṅga" was gradually extended first to the entire South and East of Bengal and then to the whole of Bengali-speaking province. The Subah (Province) of "Bāṅgālā" as mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari is an instance to prove this. Thus Bagri (western half of Lower or South-Bengal), Byāghratati (the Sundarbans zone), the Samataṭa or Great Gaṅgāridae country (the south-Bengal including the Noakhali and Chittagong Districts of the Sea-coast), the Harikela country (East-Bengal or the area of Bengal to the north-east of the Padmā river), the Dabāk country (Sylhet District and contiguous area of the Surma Valley, Comilla, Tipperah and some adjoining areas), "Sumha" or Rārha country (now West-Bengal), "Barendra" with the old areas of Gauṛa and Paundravardhan (*i.e.*, North-Bengal) were all gradually included under the name "Vaṅga". All the lands up to the foot of the Himalayas to the north-east of the river Teesta including the now defunct states of Kamta and Cooch-Behar (once a centre of Bengali learning) and the area known as the Duars, then came to be known as "Vaṅga". Even Kāmrup of the Brahmaputra Valley (Assam), Champā (a part of Bhagalpur Division, Bihar) and some parts of Orissa came within the area of Vaṅga. Thus Bengal proper comprising the late five administrative British Divisions of Rajsahi, Dacca, Chittagong, Presidency and Burdwan with some additions of territories such as Manbhum and S. Parganas of Chota-Nagpur,—were all included within the Bengali-speaking Province "Bāṅgālā." The Moghul Subahs of Bāṅgālā, Bihar and Orissa were controlled by the Subadar (Governor) of Bāṅgālā. During the British days the term "Bengal" was used (following Marco Polo and the Portuguese among others) not only for the Bengali-speaking provinces but also for a much larger area. The British Lt. Governorship of Bengal once included Bengal proper, Assam, Bihar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa. In the early days of British E. I. Co.'s rule the whole of North-India was known to them as Bengal and centrally controlled from Calcutta. They divided the northern India into two parts such as Bengal Upper Provinces (up to the Punjab) and Bengal Lower Provinces including Bengal, Assam, etc. The term Up-Country for United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is reminiscent of this. The British church administration and military administration also have similar extended appellation of Bengal.

It is needless to point out that the British "Bengal" and the Muslim Bāṅgālā are both derived from the term "Vaṅga". The people of Bengal living in its south-eastern zone were excellent sea-men and they keep this tradition of admixture of possibly Austric blood even to this day. Indian sea-men employed in European vessels are mostly from the eastern sea-coast of Bengal. In ancient time the sea-ports and inland ports of Bengal for sea-going vessels were Tamralipta, Saptagram, Suvarnagram, Chittagong, etc. and these ports once attained international celebrity. The terms "Vaṅga" and "Rārha" according to some scholars are derived from the Sonthali dialect which is Austric, like many place-names ending in "Dahas" (*e.g.*, Sealdah, Poradah, etc.). Besides the many local dynasties of Bengal proper specially of the Pre-Mahomedan period, the Imperial dynasties of the Pālas, the Senas, the Chandras, the Barmans and the Khargas deserve special notice. The Pālas from Gauṛ once ruled a large part of North-India and not only controlled West-Bengal but also a large part of Orissa, U.P., Kaliṅga, Chota-Nagpur and Kamrup and thereby considerably extended the frontiers of Bengal. The Chandras of Lower-Bengal likewise extended the frontiers of Bengal up to the Irrawaddy (Burma) river.

The kingdom of Kāmrup, though once powerful, at last succumbed to the power of Bengal during the time of the Pālas of Gauṛa. There was a time when Kāmrup was part and parcel of Bengal. So, gradually either political or cultural conquest of Bengal extended eastward, step by step, over the kingdoms of Cooch-Behar, Kamta, Tipperah, Sylhet, Cachar and Manipur on one side, and the Hill areas of the Garo, Khasi, Jayantia, Nāgā, Lushai and the Chakma Hill-tribes on the other. To the west, similarly all the Mundari Hill-tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the adjoining areas came under the sway of Bengal.

The zone to the east of Bengal proper comprise principally the settlements of the Mongolians and the zone to the west of Bengal proper is Austric in character. Bengal proper contains chiefly the Austro-Pamirian element with sprinkling of blood of the Mongolians, the Dravidians and the Aryans, as stated before.

The ancient Greeks who invaded India under Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C. and after, knew many tribes of East-India. These, according to Megasthenes and some other Greeks were the Prasii, the Morundae, the Gangāridae, the Kirahadoi, Sobariæ and many others.

For the sake of convenience and comprehension, this tota

"Brātya" area of East-India may be called the "Prāchya" as already mentioned. The major part of the "Prāchya" land ("Eastern India") is "Mahā-Vaṅgā" country or "Greater Bengal" as also stated before.

Now, to be brief, regarding our conclusions, we summarise our views as follows :

(1) By "Greater India" we understand a vast sub-continent which extends from the Sulaiman Range, Kirtahar Range and the Arabian sea on its west to the Philippines islands (inclusive) and the Pacific Ocean on its east. On the north Greater India is complete if it includes Tibet and Sikong and some undefined territory which is situated to the west of the Chinese territory of Yunan. Tibet and the province of Sikong now both belong to China. Thus the northern natural boundary will be Kieun Lun mountain range if Greater India is properly understood regarding its northern boundary. Indian Ocean is the southern-boundary of this sub-continent. The Indian name for "Greater India" may be "Mahābhārat." But after all this is a suggestion. If ethnically, culturally, economically this land is divided into two halves, the name of the eastern part which will include present Eastern India may be "Malayvarsha" and the name of western half may be "Bhāratvarsha."

(2) "Greater India" ("Mahābhārata") will contain the following cultural, physical and political Divisions :

(1) Uttarāpatha, (2) Madhyadesa, (3) Prāchya, (4) Western Tibet, (5) Eastern Tibet with Sikong, (6) Dakshināpatha (Mahārāṣtra and some contiguous areas), (7) Drāvida, (8) Suvarṇabhumi (Indo-China), (9) Suvarṇadwippunja or Malayadwippunja (Indonesia) and (10) Samardwippunja (the Philippines) and the neighbouring islands excluding New Guinea.

(3) "Eastern India" ("Prāchya") will include "Greater Bengal" ("Mahāvaṅga") and some additional provinces. Its boundaries are some Himalayan territories to its north and the areas up to the Godavery river to its south-west and up to the Gulf of Martaban to its south-east. Bay of Bengal is its southern limit. To its east is the Irrawaddy river (Burma) and to its west is the river Wain-Ganga, Maikal range, the Son rivers, Gay Hills, the Phalgu, Ganges and the Buri-Gandak rivers. Chhatisgarh with Bastar (Gondadesa), Kaliṅga (Western sea-board south of Orissa), Arakan and Bassein are these additional provinces.

(4) Greater Bengal (Mahāvaṅga), like the above contains some external provinces. These are Eastern Tirhut Division (including Bhagalpur Division of Bihar), Chota-Nagpur (including Gaya and

Sonthal Parganas Districts), Baghelkhund, Orissa (including States area), Eastern Nepal, Hukong Valley, Chindwin Valley, Kachin Valley and Chin Valley. The internal provinces will be the five old Divisions (with readjustment of boundaries) of Bengali speaking area of Bengal proper including Sylhet and Cachar, Brahmaputra Valley, the Hill-area south of the Brahmaputra Valley and the eastern frontier Hill areas of present Assam.

(5) Culturally, Bengal proper not only has the sacred charge of unifying the external provinces of Greater Bengal, but also has the duty to unify all "Prāchya" together into one bond of brotherhood. It has further the honourable charge to knit together Indo-China, Indonesia, the Philippines and other neighbouring islands of the Pacific with present India, so that first culturally, and then possibly politically, the real "Greater India" or "Mahābhārata" may come into existence to ensure the real peace of the world. Economic and commercial basis should also not be forgotten in the discharge of this sacred mission.

(6) "Greater India" will necessarily be a confederacy of states, mentioned already as land-divisions and not an unitary state. Thus, it will be composed of the five divisions of India proper, two states of Tibet (by dividing it as Eastern and Western Tibet), Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines. Thus, Greater India will be composed of ten big and powerful states with sub-states and autonomous provinces under each, as the situation demands.

(7) The Andamans isles, the Nicober isles, the Mergui isles (having still an island "Chānd" (?) possibly reminiscent of Bengali legendary merchant Chānd Sadagar) and Ceylon, for their past history in relation to Bengal, geographical position and other weighty reasons should be so many provinces under "Prāchya". It should be noted that as some Hindu castes of Bengal trace their origin from the west and south of India and as some Dravidians settled in West-Bengal in the distant past, so, many Bengalis also settled in the south up to Ceylon (cf. Prince Bijay's tradition).

(8) The city of Calcutta, for its peculiar geographical position, past and present history, culture and intellectual lead in Asia should also be the pivot and centre of Greater Indian Unity and administration. For purely administrative purposes from a suitably central place of Greater India the position of Jubbulpore may also be considered.

(9) "Greater India" should never be a theocratic state. So the two governments of the Pakistan State cannot exist in India

if that is achieved. "Greater India" being a secular confederacy of states will have tolerance for all religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, and others.

(10) It should be remembered that the various administrative Divisions of India in zonal areas are not new, as various schemes already existed or are in progress (*e.g.*, Railways) in India in modern times, though on different ideals and principles. The different indegenous cultures of India proper has been cemented by the culture known as "Hindu" (a term originally applied by foreigners) and Sanskrit language is the original vehicle of expression. Buddhism and Pali language have also the same function to discharge in "Greater India". Statistical and other investigations from Government and other sources are required to be made by experts for the topics treated above. Some names of authors are also mentioned here to serve as guides for the different problems and materials contained in this article. They are Guiffrida Ruggeri, W. W. Hunter, Dudley Stamps, Hutton, S. Levi, Pryzluski, Risley, Gait, Pargiter, Megasthenes, Ptolemy, R. D. Banerjee, N. Vasu, T. C. Dasgupta, D. C. Sen, R. N. Tagore, R. Mazumdar, B. Mazumdar, B. R. Chatterjee, S. K. Chatterjee, P. C. Bagchi, H. C. Roychowdhury, H. Roy, H. P. Sastri, K. D. Nag, B. C. Sen, U. N. Ghoshal, P. C. Dasgupta, and many others.

(11) Some gifts of the Dravidians in Indonesia cannot be denied. In this Far Eastern area they should co-operate whole-heartedly with the Bengalis to disseminate Indian Culture.

(12) Greater India may need a portion of Western Australia for future development and a time may also come when it will get it. Greater India may also spread its culture in Africa upto lat. 20° degrees north of Equator (*i.e.*, South of the Sahara desert) someday, by the will of Providence. Thus, may we hope that in distant future Greater India will adopt as its sphere of influence the zone of earth covered by lat. 40° north to lat. 40° south and Long. 140° east to Long. 20° west ?

(Concluded)

PROPOSED SCHOOL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE AND HUMAN PLANNING

Birth and Growth of the Movement

Srishchandra Chatterjee, C.E., Sthapatya Visharad

India's Architecture received for over one thousand years world-wide recognition as the very best expression of her cultural and constructive achievements. Her well-planned cities girdled with wide avenues, studded with majestic lofty temples and *vihāras*, *chaitya-prāsādas*, edifices and cottages, attracted unstinted admiration of famous foreign travellers. The Indus Valley Excavations have revealed wonderful types of well-ordered towns, as well as the high standard of living that existed in this country five thousand years ago. It has been admitted by historians that the planning of them far excelled those heretofore uncovered in the contemporaneous sites of Chaldea, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The traditions of India's rural and urban planning continued unbroken and were dexterously developed under the Hindu and the Moslem monarchs generation after generation in a most flourishing condition till the advent of the English and the invasion of Indian life by modern notions from Europe.

Her Architecture and Town Planning are indeed in a chaotic state to-day. Her modern cities and towns, even her villages, are filled more or less with half understood imitations of attempts by architects to solve contemporary problems in and under different climates and conditions. A base architecture in unsocial setting in regions planned irrationally represents modern India.

In the beginning of this century a refreshing revival of Indian arts manifested itself due principally to the advocacy of scholars including E. B. Havell, Sri Aurobindo and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. The renaissance of the Indian technique in the art of painting by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has been received with world-wide acclamation. Havell tried his best, although in vain, to have Indian architectural traditions chiefly utilised in the construction of New Delhi. But neither he nor other art connoisseurs and scholars felt the very vital necessity for (1) *establishing orthodox schools* of Indian Architecture and Planning with a view to training purely Indian

architects, artists, etc., and technicians, and for (2) *founding academies* affiliated to Government departments of Education and Public Works in order to impart practical training from actual constructions in genuine Indian styles judiciously developed to suit modern conditions.

Srischandra Chatterjee, Sthapatya-Visarad, initiated the movement for such orthodox trainings more than thirty years ago. He pioneered one modest private school of Indian architecture and crafts to develop, exclusively, the precious traditions of indigenous classical architecture. The work of his little establishment which included the Lakshmi Narayan Temple of Birla in New Delhi was highly appreciated by leading architects and scholars in India and abroad. Subsequently he closed his experimental school to devote himself fully to organize a well-equipped public institution.

At his instance, in 1938, the University of Calcutta, under the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, adopted a scheme and syllabus for a Degree Course in Architecture which was appreciated as the first of its kind in India. Another scheme for the establishment of an Academy to direct designs and constructions of structures in Indian styles was almost simultaneously prepared and had the approval of Dr. Mookerjee. Both the schemes were well received in Delhi, Bombay and elsewhere. And the movement attracted warmest sympathy of numerous great institutions and outstanding personalities all over the world including The League of Nations and Adolph Hitler then Chancellor, Berlin University. His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Sir Akbar Hydari and others expressed their willingness to patronise a school of Indian Architecture when established under Calcutta University.

Owing to changed conditions and circumstances during the last World War, separate courses and syllabuses leading to Degrees for Master of Architecture and Master of Planning had to be prepared in the beginning of 1943. They were intended to replace the abovementioned Degree Course previously adopted by the Senate, but could not be functioned. The Senate adopted the Course on 27th July, 1946. The Government of Bengal approved it on 8th February, 1947.

In April, 1943, under the signatures of thirty-two very prominent Indians and Europeans, the scheme with the courses was submitted to the Government of India for favour of consideration and patronage. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., the then

Chancellor, Calcutta University, favourably commented on the same and expressed his agreement with its principles.

At an informal meeting held in August, 1943, at the invitation of the Hon'ble Justice Sir N. G. A. Edgley, the well-known Indologist, Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, then Chief Minister of Bengal Government, Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, then Finance Minister of Bengal, Sir Badridas Goenka, then Sheriff of Calcutta and a few other Indian and European top-ranking officials and educationists including Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, now Vice-Chancellor, very strongly endorsed the proposal for the school. At the instance of Dr. B. C. Roy, then Vice-Chancellor, a discussion meeting was held on 9th January, 1944, at Birla Park, Calcutta, with Seth B. M. Birla, then President of the Indian Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as its Chairman. Several leading industrialists of Bengal, Bombay and United Provinces, Srischandra Chatterjee and a few British and American architects took part in the discussion. After explaining the syllabus and objects of the scheme, Dr. Roy eloquently advocated its early materialisation. Eventually the meeting supported the proposal unanimously.

A resolution requesting the Government of India to induce the Provincial Governments to accept the University scheme in connection with their existing arrangements for training engineering technicians, was adopted at a general meeting held at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on 18th August, 1944. It was forwarded to the Central Government. Thereafter Dr. Sir John Sargent came to Calcutta from New Delhi to discuss the scheme. Fully convinced of its merit he took printed copies for use by the Government of India.

A few months thereafter Chatterjee showed a printed copy to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Bombay. Panditji read and appreciated the scheme. Eventually he advocated the impotrance of training in Architecture and Regional Planning in the course of his memorable Convocation Address at the Calcutta University.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Calcutta University forwarded the scheme and courses to the Government of India with a request for sanctioning a grant to enable establishment of the school, on 4th September, 1947.

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, on 28th October, 1947, intimated its decision to allocate a grant to help establishment of the proposed institution on condition that it would have to function as an All-India School, the University would contribute a proportionate amount and the Government of West Bengal

would be approached for a suitable grant. The University gave a reasonable reply. But no grant has been allotted by the Central or West Bengal Government on this account. On 24th May, 1948, Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal Government, testified to the high standard of Chatterjee's scheme and expressed his hope "that the Government of Indian Union will actively co-operate with these nation-building activities."

The University scheme proposes a judicious development not only of all branches of Engineering and Architecture, and rural and urban Planning, on technical and technological lines, as the aims of the leading Western institutions of to-day are, but it also aspires after evolving a New Human Order for international harmony and inter-social equilibrium. It proposes—(1) to teach rational co-ordination of many items of human thoughts and activities, and (2) to evolve a world-embracing standard of aesthetics and ethics. Advanced engineering will be welded into the science and art of architecture and regional planning. In the opinion of Col. Albert Mayer, the distinguished American Architect and Town Planner who has been entrusted with the responsibility of developing the United Provinces and replanning Bombay, the scheme with syllabus " is superior to anything existing in the Western World."

The main idea behind the institution will be to provide for adequate training not only to meet the material needs of human life but also to engender spiritual harmony among all the people. Through academic courses and discourses the students will be taught the doctrine of human relationship to enrich themselves with the faculty to create a congenial spiritual atmosphere pervading their plans. Such an atmosphere alone is able to stimulate the growth of international harmony and good will.

In spite of tremendous oppositions from powerful vested interests, the movement for the rescue of Indian Architecture and demands for Indian style buildings grew apace. Just before the outbreak of the last War they forced their way all over India. The Universities in Banares, Patna, Nagpur, etc., felt the necessity for the study of the subject. Response came from Madras, Allahabad and Travancore. The necessity for founding a "League of Indian Architecture' was keenly felt by some notable personalities in Bombay. The movement inspired the formation of the "National Cultural Trust" and, ultimately, that of the All-India Board of Technical Studies in Architecture and Regional Planning under the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, which came into being months after Chatterjee's scheme was

sent to Delhi for the consideration of the Government. Lastly the Eastern States Union formed by forty-one art-loving Ruling Princes of Orissa, Central Province, Bengal and Assam, decided to establish an Academy of Indian Architecture for the purpose of controlling the Post-War building projects under the States.

The last Indian University Commission strictly recommended education of Indian University students on truly Indian lines so that the products of the Universities should be the outcome of Indian genius befitting Indian spiritual aspiration. One year ago, in the course of an interview, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad promised his support to Sris Chatterjee. The Hon'ble Minister of Education may do the needful to establish early the proposed school as well as an Academy of Indian Architecture for construction of structures, and practical training of students, in neo-Indian styles.* As the school will endeavour to give a concrete shape to many of the ideas for which Gandhiji stood the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Committee may contribute substantially to its establishment. As India has been captured by the *Majority Community* of architects trained in Western School of thought, and the All-India Board of Technical Studies in Architecture and Regional Planning is being controlled by it, the claims of the proposed school may be sympathetically considered as if of those of a *Minority Community*. As Ayurveda and Unani methods of medical education have been separated from those of Allopathy, and are being considered by a *separate Board*, similarly, traditional methods of Indian architectural education should be separated from the hybrid ones and should be considered by a *separate Board of Experts thoroughly conversant with India's Art and Culture.*

Now that India is free, one of her very urgent duties should be to bring back her true architecture and regional planning that once secured for herself the foremost place in the Durbar of Civilization.

Details as to the comparative analysis of Indian and Western Arts and Culture, Town Plannings in India and abroad, and the claims of the school will be found in the two books recently published by Calcutta University, styled as :—

I. ARCHITECT AND ARCHITECTURE: THEN AND NOW.

II. INDIA AND NEW ORDER: AN ESSAY ON HUMAN PLANNING.

Round the World

Results of British Elections—

In the previous issue we discussed the British general election which at that time was impending. The results as announced in the last week of February were perplexing from more than one point of view. It should be remembered that the Labour Party did not lose one single by-election during the previous four years and a half. It was on this account very surprising that in the general election it was returned with so narrow a majority. Out of 625 seats the Labour Party has secured only 315. With a majority so small, the future of the Government which Mr. Atlee has now reshuffled is very uncertain. Absence of some members owing to illness or for other reasons should always be counted with. Of course from such absence the other party is also likely to suffer. But all the same defeat of the Government on certain occasions becomes less uncertain on this account. It is also a possibility that in the course of the next few months there must be some by-elections and if as a result of that the Labour Party loses a few constituencies which it has held in the general election, the position of Mr. Atlee and his colleagues will be threatened.

The majority is slender no doubt and its future is uncertain indeed but it is all the same a majority now. On this account the Labour Party was right in agreeing to form the Government. Of course Mr. Atlee has the option of dissolving the Parliament at any time he would choose. But it is unlikely that in the present mood of the British electorate Labour prospects will be brighter in the contingency of such dissolution. There are many reasons for the loss of popularity of the Labour Government, since the elections of 1945. The very fact that Labour was in power must have contributed to this unpopularity. Secondly, the present relations between the Soviet Union and the Democratic countries have created a revulsion of feeling in the electorate against all forms of Leftism. Thirdly, control economy which the Government has so rigidly enforced must have alienated a large body of middle class voters. Lastly, many electors were confused by the candidature of these Labourites who were rightist in their views. The electors appeared to have more confident in a Conservative rightist thani n a Labour rightist. The position of the former was clear to them but that of the latter was only confusing to them. They would understand a rightist Conservative and a leftist Labourite. The Labour Party ought to profit by this experience and should take precaution accordingly in the choice of its candidates in the future.

The role of the Liberal party in the last election was ignominious. It set up nearly 470 candidates and succeeded in only occupying 9 seats in the

new House. Nor can it be said that the number of its supporters in the country is considerable. About 28 millions voters exercised their franchise on this occasion. But of them only about 2 million voted for Liberal candidates. In case there was proportional representation the number of Liberal seats would certainly have been very much larger than the party has secured. But even then the position of the Liberal Party as a party would have been hopeless. The fact is that the Liberal Party at the time of an election has now only a nuisance value. Otherwise its utility is gone. The Liberals may have an outlook different from that of the Conservatives. But in concrete policy they do not differ much from the latter. In fact the 9 Liberals in the House of Commons are now hand in glove with then Conservative colleagues. In view of this the continuance of the party as a separate group is of no benefit to British Parliamentary politics. On the contrary it may only succeed in maintaining uncertainty in British political life. For instance if the Liberals did not contest the last elections, the present stalemate could have been avoided. Those who have voted Liberal would have supported either the Conservatives or the Labourites. Consequently either of the two parties would have attained a comfortable majority. The age of Liberalism is over. The world is out either to maintain the status-quo or to go the whole hog with socialism. There is no intermediate way.

So far as we in India are concerned, we have no great preferences in respect of either of the two parties in Britain. Labour was for decades as unhelpful to us as British Conservatism. It is true, of course, that in the middle of 1947 things might not have taken the turn they did if Churchill was in power. But it should be remembered that the Great killing in Calcutta and that in the Punjab took place before transfer of power and during the Labour regime in India. In fact British policy towards India at the present time is a bipartisan one. The language of Churchill may be more imperious and blatant than the language of Mr. Atlee. Otherwise it is difficult to choose between them. All the same we would wish the Labour Party to remain in power, at least in office.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in Britain—

Since the return of Pandit Nehru from the United States of America there has been considerable anti-Indian writing in British and America journals. The British and American Governments had expected that it would be possible to win over Pandit Nehru during his visit to the U.S.A. and persuade him to join whole-heartedly the Anglo-American Bloc. But Pandit Nehru insisted on maintaining India's own policy. He would not commit India to either bloc and make this country thereby the battle ground of nations. This attitude of his alienated not only American opinion but also the Conservative opinion in Britain. On the 18th November last

the Spectator which is a conservative weekly published a paragraph with the head line "India and Kashmir". This paragraph starts with a number of false premises and consequently reaches a number of equally false conclusions. The last four lines of the para may be quoted : "The Kashmir dispute cannot remain unsettled indefinitely. At present responsibility for the delays rests much more on India than on Pakistan. It is to be hoped that Pandit Nehru realises how unfortunate an impression this is creating ". The *Fortnightly* is a conservative monthly. The December issue of this journal cortains a paper on Kashmir. This article in many of its paragraphs reflects conservative preference of Pakistani interests to those of India. The same journal in its January (1950) number starts a series of three articles entitled "India at the Cross Roads". The first one has the heading the "Decline of Congress". Its conclusion is "Congress rule stands condemned in the eyes of the Indian masses". These references possibly indicate that we have unwisely allowed some Englishmen who are not so friendly towards us to remain too near our vital interests. Let us beware.

China and Kuomintang—

The following is from the Contemporary Review (January 1950) : "Of the K.M.T. Government nothing remains but the determined Chiang Kai-shek, who never really retired from the Presidency, as he appeared to do in January (1949) to open the way for peace negotiations, and still carries on a futile war from Formosa.

"No tears need be shed for the K.M.T. It is an amazing thing that the same men who, in the half-dozen years before the Japanese invasion, did so much to give China an efficient government and to raise her prestige, should, since the war, have proved so incompetent and dishonest. For General Chiang Kai-shek there can be nothing but sorrow that one who was so undeniably great should have fallen so low. His evident conviction that the Communists demanded absolute power and would never compromise was proved right in April when the peace delegates, sent to Peking by Acting President Li Tsung-jen, though ready to accept in principle Mao Tse-tung's eight terms, were met with a brutal three-days' ultimatum requiring unconditional surrender. What General Chiang could not or would not see was that the only hope of countering communism was to sweep out the rotten administration of the K.M.T. and enforce all-round reform, despite the strong lead given him by the National Assembly in May, 1948, and the material it offered for making a new start.

His penalty was that China turned against him and the K.M.T. together. Like any fallen dynasty in the past 3,600 years, they were felt to have exhausted the mandate of Heaven."

Extradition of Westerling—

Indonesia has gained independence in the teeth of opposition of a large body of Dutchmen both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. In fact they

were compelled to concede this independence only because international opinion proved too strong for the Dutch authorities to resist this independence. In view of this it was but inevitable that many Dutchmen who could not halt the new destiny of the seventy million Indonesians would conspire against the new State practically on the morrow of its independence. Just as some British nationals were at the bottom of the Karen revolt in Burma, so some Dutch soldiers were responsible in Indonesia for organising a revolt in Indonesia. The leadership in this regard was in the hands of a Dutch captain, Westerling, commonly known as Turco. He and his associates did considerable damage but soon their position became difficult and untenable, thanks to the vigilance of the Indonesian Government and the efforts of the Indonesian army. Westerling fled to Malaya and then to Singapore. Malaya possibly was not as hospitable as he expected. He stayed on there for some time and tried to collect funds. We do not know how much he collected. But later he left for Singapore where he was apprehended by the British police. We do not know the circumstances in which he was arrested. It is not unlikely that the Indonesian Government put pressure upon the British authorities in this regard and because of that pressure, Westerling's movements were stopped by his arrest. Charges of entering Singapore without permit were framed against him and it was reported that he was sentenced to imprisonment for a month. Meanwhile the Indonesian Government applied for his extradition to Indonesia so that he might take his trial there for organising and leading revolt against the State. The British Government has not yet taken any steps in complying with that request. It has been on the contrary given out that in the absence of an extradition treaty between Britain and the new state of Indonesia the British Government was not in a position to extradite Westerling as desired by the Indonesian Government. This point of view is not exactly valid. It is, of course, true that a treaty would make extradition in non-political cases compulsory, provided a certain procedure is followed as prescribed in the treaty and a *prima facie* case is made out against the man whose extradition is demanded. But this does not mean that without a treaty of extradition the Government of a country cannot extradite a man wanted. It would in fact be an act of comity if such extradition is facilitated even if there is no extradition treaty to that effect. The British Government at least should not raise any objection on the ground that it has not entered yet into any treaty of extradition with Indonesia.

Europe and Asia—

The following is from the Nineteenth Century and After : "The wheel has come the full circle. We must retrace our steps in history and begin once more at the point where first the white man penetrated to the great Courts of the Orient. Our plenipotentiaries will have to set out with the same humble discretion as did those of eighteenth century England, or as

Marco Polo showed when he and his uncles had audience with the Great Khan. We can no longer negotiate by *force majeure,—Amethyst* politics are out of date. Our sole credentials lie in the peaceable and enduring fruits of our culture. The only Ambassadors who have any hope of remaining *personae greatae* at the new seats of Oriental government are our teachers and technicians. And even they will only succeed in so far as they come to learn as well as to instruct". The passage is sensible. But what is the objective behind this change of front proposed by the writer? If the objective is the same as that of the 18th century British emissaries in India, the people in Asia should only spurn the offer of help by teachers and technicians from Europe. The fact is that many Europeans have not yet been reconciled to the change of their political position in Asian countries. They have not yet discarded the big stick. They have only kept it in hiding to be brought out when necessary. The method of wielding it may not be the same as in previous decades. But there seems to be there no final decision not to wield it ever. Formerly they ruled by exercising governmental powers. Now they are trying to rule by creating dissensions among different groups of people in a country and between one country and another. When will Europe be reconciled to its Lost Dominions? Perhaps only after an Atomic War.

Vietnam—

During the War French authority was rolled up in Indo-China. But through the good offices of Britain French forces returned to that country and tried for the last few years to re-establish French authority. But Ho Chi Minh, the nationalist leader, has proved tough and the local people obdurate. It was impossible to maintain direct French administration in the face of this nationalist stiffness. So the French Government proceeded to try another method of maintaining its hold on Vietnam. It set up a puppet government with the former emperor Bao Dai as its head. Of late there has been feverish international activity to prop up this puppet regime and recognise it as sovereign authority. Britain, the U.S.A. and some other countries have recognised this regime. On the other hand the Government of Ho Chi Minh has been recognised by the Communist countries of China and the U.S.S.R. The Anglo-American countries know full well that Ho Chin Minh commands popular support and Bao Dai has no following. But they can think that by throwing American money, materials and skill they can strengthen Bao Dai's position and halt communism. But this will be enthroning foreign authority as well.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Iqbal : The Poet and His Message. By Lt.-Col. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Bookseller and Publisher, Allahabad. Price Rs. 8.

Ben Jonson wrote in the 16th century "We worship Shakespeare on this side idolatry." Three hundred years later, Sir Walter Raleigh stated that we not merely worship Shakespeare on this side idolatry but that "We are idolators of Shakespeare born and bred." On the other hand, Dr. Sinha in his scholarly work "Iqbal, the Poet and his Message" aims at correcting the false impression of the Muslim poet which idolatrous critics have created. He tells us in the preface "As nearly nine years have elapsed since Iqbal's death (in April, 1938) I feel that the time has arrived to attempt a critical appraisal of his works—as distinguished from the laudatory."

Dr. Sinha commences with a short sketch of Iqbal's life, education, and writings and pays a tribute to him as a man with a fascinating personality and "a tower of strength to many a great and good cause." He proceeds to his task in no harsh manner but with the precision of the scientist. He cites authorities for and against each conclusion, gives his own judgment and leaves the reader free to form his own opinion. In twenty-eight detailed chapters, he examines the poet from various angles—as the poet of India, the poet of Islam, and as a poet-philosopher. He discusses the literary value of Iqbal's Persian and Urdu poetry, compares him with world famous Eastern and Western poets and, in the last chapter, delivers judgment on "The Popularity of Iqbal."

He regrets that the poet chose Persian for eight collections of verses and Urdu for only four smaller collections. He thus limited his circle of readers. Muslims outside India prefer the works of the author in their own tongue. So eminent an authority as Professor Brown gives the renowned poet Khusran only four lines in his literary history of Persia. Iqbal he does not mention at all. Moreover, he finds the style of the Urdu works stilted and over-Persianized and inferior to that of Arzoo or Nazeer.

Although many Muslim readers may disagree with some of the ideas set forth in it, the book will certainly excite admiration by reason of the scholarly presentation of the subject. As Appendix III indicates, this volume is a product of loving study. The careful summing up of the legal brain is evident everywhere as also a minor weakness of the legal fraternity —a tendency to repetition and digressions (*e.g.*, the whole of Chapter XVIII). The quotations could have been shorter and the length of the book reduced. More quotations from the poet's works and less from those of his critics

could have been made. Iqbal's contribution to the idea of Pakistan is only lightly touched upon and could have been discussed in some detail.

Certain descriptive passages in Iqbal are beautiful, *e.g.*, the verses on the glow-worm but there is nothing to compare him as a poet of nature with Wordsworth or Shelley. Moreover, Iqbal's poetry lacks the quality of universality to be found in immortals like Goethe, Dante or Kalidasa. Even as philosophic poetry, it falls short of the standards of Shelley, Wordsworth and Browning. This failure as a great poet Dr. Sinha ascribes to theological dogmatism. Non-Muslims in India, Dr. Sinha feels, are not likely to be attracted to a poet who openly reviles polytheists and reveals himself as a dogmatic Muslim rather than as a liberal interpreter of the religion of the Prophet.

How good a Muslim Iqbal was can be judged by none but a follower of the Prophet. While non-Muslims may like a liberal interpretation of Islam, Muslims may hold that a liberal interpretation of the Quran falls outside the tenets of their religion.

As a patriotic poet, non-Muslims are puzzled by his contradictions. On the one hand he is the author of "Our India". He is also the author of a poem in which he says "China and Arabia are ours; so is Hindustan; we are Muslims and the whole world is our native land."

Iqbal's two prose works in English "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia" and "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" contribute nothing new or original to philosophy. He was the disciple of such opposites as Nietzche, Bergson, and Ward. He borrows his Superman from Nietzche, but makes him a theist, not an atheist.

Iqbal dislikes Western democracy and denounces capitalism. He wants Muslims of the twentieth century to hark back to the polity of the seventh century. He visualises a world-wide theocratic state of Muslims. Such a narrow view, according to our author, overlooks the historical developments of Turkey, Iran, Arabia and other Muslim countries where nationalism is territorial and not based on religion. The adaptation of Western ideas is beneficial to Turkey, *e.g.*, the emancipation of women and the abolition of purdah. The Arab League Pact of 1945 and the views expressed by the Turkish Press Delegation to India show that Iqbal's theory of Pan-Islamism is not shared outside India.

In trouncing Plato and Hafiz, Iqbal shows lack of judgment. They were not the historical cause of the decay of Islamic empires.

"No man can walk abroad save on his own shadow." It is evident that as a Hindu, Dr. Sinha is sensitive to Iqbal's criticism of idolators and polytheists. The whole of Chapter XIV is devoted to justifying Hinduism.

Still Dr. Sinha's judgment is fair. Excepting to votaries of the poet, Iqbal is generally regarded as a man of genius who wrote much beautiful

poetry but bequeathed nothing immortal to poetry or philosophy. While this book is not a piece of creative criticism like the critical works of Raleigh, Saintsbury or H. C. Grierson, it is a scholarly work and useful to the student of Iqbal.

The type is large and clear, suitable both for student and non-student. Useful introductions, critical tributes, and appendices are included.

Y. MATHIAS.

Mr. Huffam and Other Stories. By Hugh Walpole. London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1948. Pp. 1-275.

The volume contains twelve stories nearly all of which were written during the author's last years. They were collected after his death in 1941 and are being presented for the first time in a separate volume. They are clearly told and their interest never flags. Some of the stories are gruesome and macabre, like the first of the series, "The Cat," and others describe some adventure or extraordinary event but the art of narration is simple, direct, colloquial, without being influenced by the various experiments made by some of the author's comtemporaries. Sir Hugh Walpole was a major novelist of the century and showed a considerable versatility as critic, essayist, story-teller and author of children's books. The book of stories, under review, is pleasant and diverting to read and is full of lively dialogue and description, which renders stories highly entertaining.

Samuel Butler (1835-1902). By P. N. Furbank, Cambridge at the University Press, 1948. Price 6*s*. Pp. 1-113.

In this little volume Mr. Furbank attempts a re-valuation of the life and work of Samuel Butler. The material considered in these pages is not exhaustive but by a judicious selection of facts and incidents the author has focussed our attention on the salient features of Butler's life and has argued his case cogently and convincingly, chiefly in defending him from the charges of Malcolm Muggeridge in his "The Earnest Atheist." The discussion of Butler's writings on Evolution and of his place among the other 'prophets' of the early twentieth century constitutes the chief excellence of the book, which has already been awarded the Las Bas Prize by the University of Cambridge. The author has throughout quoted Samuel Butler in support of his observations and has never offered an arbitrary opinion. As such the book will be very useful for a correct appraisement of the personality, character, and work of Samuel Butler.

SRI CHANDRA SEN.

Ourselves

Outrages in East Bengal and our Duty

What has happened in East Bengal during the last two months is beyond description. All the forces of communal frenzy were let loose on the helpless Hindu population of that province. As a result of this a few hundred thousand Hindus have already come over and others are still coming. The problem thus created affects us all, whether we are associated with the Government, with the University or with any private organisation. We in the University have to cope with that aspect of the problem which concerns us intimately. Many of the Hindus, who have come over to the Indian Union, were engaged in educational work. We feel for them in their present plight and hope that necessary and proper steps will be taken in rehabilitating them in a suitable manner. Many again who are coming out are the young hopefuls whose education has yet to be completed. Arrangements for their sitting at the examinations for which they are candidates have to be made, their admission to schools and colleges has to be facilitated and in many cases provision for their educational expenses has to be made. These are problems of no mean size and magnitude. But those who have come over may count on the cooperation of the University, the colleges, schools and the Government in the solution of this problem. Some private organisations are also coming to the fore with their offer of help. Let us hope that many more organisations will be similarly in the field and associate themselves with other bodies in making life of these refugees not only bearable but fruitful.

* * * *

Serious Fire in the Darbhanga Building

In the evening of the 14th March after day's work was done, there was a serious outbreak of fire in the room of the Darbhanga Building of the University, which houses the Accounts office. It soon took a huge proportion and that room and the adjoining room of the Audit Officer were severely damaged. The fire spread also to the Library Hall in which Senate meetings are now held. But before

much damage was done to that Hall, the fire brigade succeeded in controlling the fire. Furniture including electric fans was gutted in the rooms which were mainly affected. Account Books, files and papers were largely destroyed. A committee has been constituted to examine the causes of the incident.

* * * *

Professor S. K. Chatterji

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji left for Paris on the 16th of the last month to attend a Conference which has been called by the UNESCO to study the Braille system and suggest improvements. It should be recalled that Professor Chatterji attended at the same city a preliminary meeting held for the purpose in December last.

* * * *

The Late Dr B. K. Ghosh

We regret to announce the death of Dr. Batakrisna Ghosh which took place last month at Calcutta. A scholar of outstanding eminence, Dr. Ghosh was a lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology for a decade and a half in this University. His contributions to learning were valued in all countries. Trained in India according to traditional methods of Sanskrit learning, he later carried on his research studies in Munich and Paris. A victim to a fell disease which yielded to no treatment, Dr. Ghosh pursued learning with unflinching courage inspite of the handicap. We wish his soul rest and peace.

* * *

Pandit Kshiti Mohan Sen

Pandit Kshiti Mohan Sen delivered three lectures in the Darbhanga Library Hall on *Banglar Baul*. The Vice-Chancellor presided. The lectures drew a large audience and created a good deal of enthusiasm.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Memo. No. C/8591/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of the Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Tamralipta Mahavidyalaya, Midnapur shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to permit candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 15th February, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.)

Notification No. Misc. R. 4.

It is hereby notified for general information that the accompanying new Chapter *Viz.*, chapter XLIX-E relating to the institution of an examination for the Diploma in Dietetics (Dip. Diet.) has been inserted in the University Regulations.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar(Offg.)

Dated the 10th December, 1949.

Memo. No. C/8600/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Ramsaday College, Amta, Howrah, shall be affiliated in Bengali (Alternative Vernacular Language) to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology to the I.Sc. Standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in those subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.)

COUNCIL OF POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTICE

The following are the subjects and dates for submission of theses in competition for the medals noted below :—

1. Rani Ramrakshi Gold Medals, 1951, on or before 31st October, 1951.

(*a*) "Are conversion and re-conversion to Hinduism admissible according to the Shastras ?"—(Cultural)

(*b*) "Universals"—(Philosophical)

2. Anandaram Barua Gold Medal, 1951, on or before 30th June, 1951.

(*a*) The Validity of forcible conversion in the light of the Shastras.

The competition is open to any person admitted to a Degree of this University. Each candidate is required to submit the thesis in triplicate, indicating in the Preface sources and claims to originality, etc. to the Secretary, P. G. Council (Arts), under a distinguishing motto forwarding also his name in a sealed envelope with the motto outside. Rani Ramrakshi Gold Medal theses are to be written in Bengali. Each of the Rani Ramrakshi Medalists will also be awarded a prize of books worth Rs. 75. University Calendar may be consulted for any other information.

ASUTOSH BUILDING :
The 7th February, 1950.

S. K. ACHARYYA,
Secretary (Offg.)

Memo. No. C/2905/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Hooghly Mohsin College, Hooghly, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Second Language) to the B.A. Pass and Honours standards and in Political Economy and Political Philosophy to the B.A. Honours standard, with the permission to present candidates for the examinations, in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 18th November, 1949.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.)

Memo. No. C/4984/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Hindu College, Gobardanga shall be affiliated in Bengali (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular) and Bengali (Pass), Bengali (Additional Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economics and Political Philosophy and Mathematics to the B.A. Pass standard, with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.)

Notification No. F. 60-2/49-A. I (s),
Government of India,
Ministry of Education,
New Delhi 3, *the 26th December*, 1949.

From

The Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

To

The Vice-Chancellor,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

SUBJECT : FACILITIES FOR STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AVAILABLE AT THE INSTITUTE OF HIGHER STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PARIS.

Sir,

I am directed to state that this Ministry has been informed of the existence and working of the University Institute of Higher Studies in International Affairs, Paris, where facilities are available for students who intend to choose Diplomatic Career or wish to study International Affairs. The French Government award every year a number of scholarships, through the French Embassy in India, Calcutta, to Indian students for studies in France. It is requested that the facilities, referred to above, may please be brought to the notice of the students in the University for their future guidance.

Yours faithfully,
M. L. KAPUR,
for Deputy Secretary.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

CIRCULAR No. 32.

Patna, the 10th October, 1949.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, Inspectors and Inspectresses of Schools, Registrars of all Indian Universities, Secretary, Public Service Commission, Ranchi.

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University examination for the period noted against their names as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the examinations :

Serial No.	Examination	Centre and No.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's Name	Father's Name	Period of Punishment
1	I A.	Arr. 273	2413 of 48	Arrah	Sadhu Saran Ram	Narayan Singh	Debarred from appearing at any examination prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
2	B.A.	Arr. 142	2897 of 43	H. D, Jain	Giriraj Bahadur	Shyam Bahadur Mathur	
				,,	Mathur		
3	1.A.	Beg. 88	123 of 49	G. B. Pegusarai	Raghunandan Prasad Narayan Singh	Ambika Prasad Narayan Singh	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951
4	I.A.	Beg. 119	173 of 49	,,	Sheonanda Singh	Rudranarayan Singh	,,
5	I.A.	Bhag. 320	4807 of 48	T. N. J., Bhagalpur	Umeshchandra Mishra	Sabit Lal Mishra	,,
6	I.A.	,, 501	3197 of 47	,,	Siyaram Singh	Rambollah Prasad Singh	,,
7	I.Sc.	,, 100	5116 of 48	,,	Radhey Prasad Saha	Jagannath Prasad Saha	,,
8	I.Sc.	,, 107	4868 of 48	,,	Sarjug Prosad Mandal	Prayag Mandal	,,
9	B.A.	,, 87	3062 of 45	,,	Satya Narayan Yadav	Rampadarath Yadav	,,
10	B.Sc. Hons.	,, 1	2839 of 45	,,	Bijoy Krishna Sinha	Narsingh Prasad Sinha	,,
11	I.A.	,, 484	3491 of 47	,,	Ramanand Tiwari	Bhubneshwar Prasad Tewari	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
12	I.Sc.	,, 30	4769 of 48	T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur	Debendraprosad Gupta	Kamleshwari Prasad Gupta	,,
13	B.Com.	,, 19	3231 of 44	Marwari, Bhagalpur	Janardanprasad Sinha	Tarini Prasad Singh	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1952
14	B.Com.	,, 63	738 of 44	,,	Yogeshwar Prosad Singh	Shukhdeo Prasad Singh	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
15	I.A.	Chap. 36	3742 of 48	Rajendra, Chapra	Phoal Mohammad	Abdur Rahman	,,
16	B.Com.	Chap. 57	1125 of 44	Do.	Durga Sahaya	Akhouri Jagdam Sahaya	,,

Setial No.	Examination	Centre & No.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's Name	Father's Name	Period of Punishment
17	I.A.	Dar. 115	2903 of 48	C. M., Durbhanga	Shivanarayan Jha	Bachoo Jha	,,
18	I.A.	,, 133	3051 of 48	,,	Ahsamul Zarif	Abdul Latif	,,
19	I.A.	,, 366	1152 of 47	,,	Lallan Prasad	Kamaldeo Narayan Sinha	,,
20	I.A.	,, 378	1197 of 46	,,	Md. Matiur Rahman	Md. Maula Box	,,
21	I.Sc.	,, 86	2556 of 48	,,	Krishna Kumar Biroliya	Shreniwasmul Bairoliya	,,
22	I.Sc.	,, 71	416 of 49	,,	Vedanand Jha	Upendranath Jha	,,
23	I.Sc.	,, 115	945 of 47	,,	Umakant Sinha	Ramdhari Panday	,,
24	I.Sc.	,, 445	1115 of 46	,,	Sushil Kumar Verma Srivastava	Jagannath Sahay	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1952
25	I.Sc.	,, 106	2543 of 48	,,	Sashi Shekhar Sinha	Tarini Kumar Sinha	,,
26	I.Sc.	Haz. 56	2317 of 46	St. Columbus', Hazaribagh	Shaw+Eric Sobhas Kumar	R. D. Shaw	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
27	I.A.	Madh. 3	935 of 48	Ram Krishna, Mudhubani	Awadh Narain Singh	Nathuni Singh	Prior to the Annnal Examination, 1951
28	I.A.	Mong. 68	5206 of 48	R. D. & D. J. College, Monghyr	Kashaiya Lal	Gajadhar Prasad	,,
29	I.A.	,, 182	1875 of 48	,,	Sheoji Jha	Ratikant Jha	,,
30	I.A,	,, 194	4188 of 47	,,	Uotam Narayan Sinha	Hakeem Singh	,,
31	I.A.	,, 276	5129 of 47	,,	Ram Kisun Chaudhury	Jagannath Chaudhury	,,
32	I.A.	,, 279	1499 oi 47	,,	Ramdeo Prasad Sinha	Ramphal Singh	,,
33	I.A.	Muz. 297	5661 of 47	G. I B., Muzaffarpur	Vijaya Bahadur Singh	Mahaodè Prasad Singh	,,
34	I.Sc.	,, 72	6167 of 47	,,	Saiyid Reza Emam Rezwi.	Sayeed Hefazot Hussain	,,
35	B.A.	,, 46	.....	G. B. B., Muzaffarpur.	RameshNath Kapur	Kailashi Nath Kapur	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951
36	B.Sc.	,, 14	1324 of 47	,,	Trilokenath Verma	Lakshmi Narayan	,,
37	I.A.	Nal. 69	5150 of 47	Nalenda Bihar Sharif	Md. Nisarul Haque Ansari	N. Sayeeduddin	,,
38	I.A.	,, 250	2291 of 47	,,	Natho Prasad	Raja Prasad Sinh	,,

Serial No.	Examination	Centre and No.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's name	Father's name	Period of punishment
39	I.A.	Pat. 21	4569 of 48	Behar National College, Patna	Badri Narayan	Ram Chandra Prasad	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951
40	I.A.	,, 30	4419 of 48	,,	Baleshwar Narayan Sinha	Gopal Singh	,,
41	I.A.	,, 54	4168 of 48	,,	Dwarka Prasad Sharma	Chandrika Prasad Sharma	,,
42	I.A.	,, 67	4162 of 48	,,	Giridra Kumar Singh	Basant Singh	,,
43	I.A.	,, 103	4589 of 48	,,	Krishna Murari Sharma	Tirjug Singh	,,
44	I.A.	,, 240	4504 of 48	,,	Sheosharan Roy	Baldeo Lal Roy	,,
45	I.A.	,, 297	4433 of 48	,,	Bharat Prasad Sinha	Ambika Prasad Sinha	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
46	I.Sc.	,, 89	4144 of 49	,,	Maheshwar Jha	Chalbal Jha	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951
47	I.Sc.	,, 120	2581 of 47	,,	Md. Ibrahim	Md. Samaiel	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
48	B.A.	,, 121	995 of 44	,,	M. Abul Kalam	Md. Saddique	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951
49	B.A.	,, 178	3262 of 43	,,	Ramtwakya Sinha	Muni Sinha	,,
50	B.Sc.	,, 13	2007 of 42	,,	Sushil Kumar Shaw	Manomohan Shaw	,,
51	B.Sc.	,, 26	2339 of 43	,,	Jitendra Narayan Amber	Suryadeo Narayan	,,
52	I.A.	,, 825	2525 of 48	Patna College	Krishna Murari Prasad Gupta	Rameshwar Prasad Gupta	,,
53	I.Sc.	,, 327	2527 of 46	Science College	Suraj Narayan Das	Madho Das	,,
54	I.A.	Ram. 282	1130 of 49	Govt. Degree College, Ranchi	Yubraj Singh Thapa	Sreeman Singh Thapa	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1950
55	I.A.	,, 288	1145 of 48	,,	Kali Prasad Bhattacharyya	Kshitishwar Bhattacharyya	,,
56	B.A.	Pat. 367	443 of 41	Patna College	Ambica Prasad Yadava	Raghonandan Prosad	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1954
57	B.Sc.	,, 23	2437 of 45	Behar National College, Patna	Krishna Deo Narayan Singh	Syamanandan Singh	Debarred from appearing in any University Examination in future

S. Y. Hussan
Assistant Registrar.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

CIRCULAR NO. 40.

Patna, the 1st December, 1949

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, Headmasters and Headmistresses of High Schools, Inspectors and Inspectresses of High Schools, Registrars of all Indian Universities, Secretary of Federal Public Service Commission, Delhi and Secretary of Joint Public Service Commission, Ranchi.

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University examination for the period noted against their names as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the supplementary Matric. Examination, 1949.

Sl. No.	Roll No.	Name of Institution	Candidate's name.	Father's name.	Period of punishment.
1.	Bhagalpur 390	Hallett Institution Saharsa	Yuktilal Mandal	Ram Lal Mandal	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Exam. of 1954.
2.	Ranchi 152	Private Zilla School, Ranchi	Soed Ansarullah Mirza	Sd. Zahir H. Mirza	,,
3.	Arrah 78	H. E. School, Sikrahta	Awadh Ram Rai	Hari Rai	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Exam. of 1951.
4.	,, 281	Arrah Town School	Rajeswari Prosad Singh	Mahendra Narayan Singh	,,
5.	,, 337	R.R.H.E. School, Surajpura	Shreenath Chaudhury	Fouzdar Chaudhury	,,
6.	,, 432	B.B.H.E. School, Buxar	Jagdamba Singh	Ram Shanker Singh	,,
7.	,, 518	H.E School, Dehri	Sheo Sing Yadava	Dhanukh Singh Yadava	,,
8.	,, 528	K.P.H.E. School, Dumri	Chintamani Kumar	Ram Vyas Kumar	,,
9.	,, 606	H.E. School, Shahpur	Marayan Chandra Ojha	Karam Dayal Ojha	,,
10.	Bhagalpur 624	Edward George H.E. School Madhupur.	Shah Mohammad Mojhar Rafique.	Dost Mohammad	,,
11.	Chapra 54	Rajput H.E. School Chapra	Baidyanath Prosad Varma	Kailash Behari Prosad Verma	,,
12.	,, 263	S.S.H.E. School, Bhagwanpur	Nirsu N. Singh	Shyamji Singh	,,
13.	,, 285	Islamia H.E. School, Olhanpur	Chandradeo Mishra	Ramsugandh Misra	,,
14.	,, 289	,, ,,	Najmul Haque	Md. Karim	,,
15.	Darbhanga 70	G.M.S.S.H.E. School, Madhubani	Mahabir Yadav	Sonelal Yadav	,,
16.	,, 87	S.L.H.E. School, Sitamarhi	Saraya Prasad	Badri Sah	,,
17.	,, 179	Model H.E. School, Samastipur	Lakshmi Narayan Prosad Sinha	Hari Narayan Prasad Sinha	,,

Sl. No.	Roll No.	Name of institution	Candidate's name	Father's name	Period of punishment
18.	,,	286 G.N.H.E. School, Babu Barhi	Balgobind Bhagat	Nanee Bhagat	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Exam. of 1951.
19.	Monghyr	381 R.N. & P.R. High School, Jalalbad	Ugra Mohan Varma	Harinandan Verma	,,
20.	,,	405 R. K., C. H. E. School, Phulwaria.	Madhusudan Singh	Mangal Singh	,,
21.	Muzaffarpur	64 B.B. Collegiate School, Muzaffarpur.	Chandra Kant Jha	Jagadish Jha	,,
22.	,,	203 Ramdyalu H.E. School, Gangeva.	Ram B. Prasad	Laxman Routh	,,
23.	,,	367 Bepin H.E. School, Betiah	Madhusudan Prasad Verma	Raghonath Pd. Verma	,,
24.	Nalanda	6 Nalanda Collegiate School, Biharsharif	Kailash Pr. Sinha	Karoo Mahlou	,,
25.	,,	63 G.S.H.E. School, Biharshariff	Mohammad Mahboob Alam	Md. Abdullah	,,
26.	Patna	481 A.N.S.H.E. School, Barh	Umashankar Prasad	Rameshwar Lall	,,
27.	,,	545 Netaji Shree Subhas H.E. School, Islampur	Govind Prasad Singh	Gokhul Singh	,,
28.	Purnea	170 H.E. School, Abadpur	Abdur Rahman	Mazhar Ali	,,
29.	,,	224 B.L.H.E. School, Murliganj	Ram Narayan Prasad Yadava	Lakshmi Pd. Yadava	,,
30.	,,	284 Zila School, Purnea	Raghubans Thikur	Debi Thakur	,,
31.	Ranchi	172 Zila School, Chaibasa	Syed Ashique Rasool	Abdul Bari	,,
32.	Arrah	656 Girls H. E. School, Arrah	Padmavati Sahai	Kamala Kant Sahai	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination, 1950.

S. Y. Hussain
Asst. Registrar.

10—1782P—IV

UNIVERSITY OF SIND

CIRCULAR No. 6

No. Ex,/A/1389 of 1949
University of Sind, Karachi,
dated 30th Nov., 49.

From

THE REGISTRAR,
University of Sind, Karachi.

I have the honour to inform you that the following candidates have been debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any examination/rusticated for the period noted against each of them for using unfair means at the Supplementary Examinations, 1949, of this University or for other reasons as mentioned against each :—

Seat No.	Name.	Father's name.	Surname.	Examination.	Colleges from which sent up,	Punishment.	Reasons.
34	Ghulam Abbas	Akbarali	Takhtwala	F.E.	N.E.D. College	Debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any examination for a period of 2 years, *viz.*, 1949 and 1950.	The candidate was found in possession of notes on 9 pieces of paper and had answered some questions with the help of those notes.
68	Mohd. Shuib	Ghulam Rasul	Nagi	F.E.	N.E.D. College	Debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any examination for a period of 2 years, *viz.*, 1949-50.	(1) The candidate was found in possession of two loose sheets of paper containing solutions of some questions brought by him for the purpose of copying. He tore out some leaves of one answer-book. (2) Examiner has reported that the candidate has copied in Mathematics paper II.
32	Tauqeer Husain	Imdad Husain	Paliwala	D.Sc.	D.J.S. College	Debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any examination for a prriod of 2 years, *viz.* 1949-50.	The candidate was found copying from a paper brought by him on which some notes on Physics were written.

Sd./- illegible.
Registrar
University of Sind,
Karachi.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1950

FRANZ ANTON MESMER AND THE HYPNOTIC TRANCE

Dr. Edward Podolsky, M.D.

So great was the interest aroused by the new methods and practices of Dr. Franz Anton Mesmer and so bitter and acrimonious the controversies that the King himself at length was forced to take a hand. In 1784 King Louis XVI of France issued orders for the formation of a commission from the Paris Academy of Medicine to investigate the unorthodox and sensational methods of Dr. Mesmer. After many days of sustained study and investigation the commission issued the following report:

"Some of the patients look peaceful and sit very still as if in a trance; others cough and spit; others say that they experience a slightly painful sensation, or a feeling of warmth pervades the body and causes sweating; yet others are seized with convulsions. These convulsive attacks are extraordinarily frequent, violent and last an unusually long time. No sooner is one patient seized with convulsion than other patients begin to manifest the same symptoms. The commission has itself witnessed convulsive attacks which lasted three hours. The sufferer exudes a cloudy and slimy liquid, so overpowering are the physical exertions he undergoes; and at times a few traces of blood may be found. The limbs and the whole body are contorted by the most violent movements, so that there are spasms of the larynx, twitchings of the abdomen, of the stomach, fixity of the eyes, shrill cries, groans, fits of weeping and laughing. These seizures are followed by lengthy periods of quiet, when the patients lie completely exhausted and comatose. Should the faintest of noises reach

them unexpectedly they will jump and show alarm. We have noticed that a slight change in the tempo of a melody played on the pianoforte, a slight increase in the loudness, in quickness, and so forth, have a decisive influence upon the patients, making their nervous cries more acute. These convulsive fits are the most amazing of spectacles, and those who have not personally witnessed them can form no idea of their quality. Again, one cannot but be surprised at the calm manifested by certain patients and the intense excitement exhibited by others ; between these two extremes there is the category of those who are neither very calm nor greatly excited ; such states are continually repeating themselves, and the observer is in a perpetual condition of surprise at the sympathetic current which establishes itself between patient and patient. One sees a patient smiling at his neighbor, and speaking gently to him ; this communion seems to mitigate the force of the convulsions. All are subject to the person who magnetizes them. If to every appearance they lie completely exhausted, the eye or the voice of the magnetizer soon brings them out of their swoon."

Dr. Mesmer was without doubt the most sensational hypnotist of his time. He made a good thing of his powers ; he exploited them to the fullest. In time he attained great fame and aroused intense envy, and his name has gone down in medical annals as a most extraordinary and fascinating person.

* * * * *

Franz Anton Mesmer was born in 1733 near Lake Constance. He was a studious young man, with an overwhelming sense of curiosity which led him to a study of philosophy, law, theology and medicine. The title of his medical thesis is quite significant ; it was called *the Influence of the Planets on Human Beings*. Dr. Mesmer was not as successful as he should have like to have been, and he lived in comparative poverty until 1768 when he married a rather wealthy widow which gave him the opportunity he had long sought, to develop his theories and exploit his unusual powers.

While in Vienna Mesmer had found that he possessed the unusual talent of being able to effect cures by the simple expedient of passing a magnet over the diseased parts. He began applying this method to all of his patients and soon he found that other objects possessed the same unusual properties as the magnet if he had previously magnetized" them by passes of the hand.

Much impressed by these quite remarkable powers Dr. Mesmer embarked upon a career as an inventor. The most famous of his inventions was the "baquet," a rather large receptacle shaped like a bathtub, filled either with sand in which were scattered pieces of glass and iron, or with water in which were immersed a number of bottles filled with magnetized water, particles of glass and iron filling up the interstices between the bottles. A long iron rod was placed in the baquet to which was attached a cord. The patients formed circles around the baquet, holding one another by the hand in quite a strange manner. From a distant room came the strains of music (of a choir, or a clavecin, or of Mesmer's own harmonica, being also somewhat of a musician). After a lapse of time Mesmer made a dramatic appearance, bearing a slender steel rod in his hand. He interrogated each patient in turn, touching him or her with the rod fixing each with his eyes. This led to the most amazing actions. One by one the patients fell into convulsions, one by one they declared themselves cured. The whole show was most impressive and to say the least unusual.

It was quite natural that Mesmer's practice in Vienna grew by leaps and bounds. It was also quite natural that the other members of the medical profession should regard him as a quack and charlatan. In time this antagonism grew so strong that Mesmer was forced to leave Vienna and emigrate to France.

He arrived in Paris, fully loaded with introductions from well-known Austrians who had been his grateful patients. He was received warmly by the Austrian colony and by the Queen, Marie Antoinette. He settled at Creteil, and remembering his frictions with the Austrian medical profession he made vigorous attempts to persuade the Academy of Sciences and the Medical Faculty to accept his ideas. But this they refused to do.

However, his practice grew and he was quite successful in effecting a great many cures. He was gaining favorable notice in his new location. By now Mesmer thought that he should like to open his own hospital. He felt that he would be far more useful if he had a hospital of his own. He wrote to the Queen requesting financial support. She refused. He threatened to leave France. Still she refused. He did leave France, going to Spain, only to return because of pressure from his influential patients in Paris. They felt that Mesmer was needed in France, that the help that he was able to give them was not to be obtained from other more conservative medical practitioners.

The Queen had refused help, but the nobility and the upper classes collected 340,000 livres by the end of the year to establish The Society of Harmony, for the express purpose of propagating Mesmer's teachings and theories.

The influence of Mesmer now became widespread. The era was just prior to the French Revolution and everyone was little mad. Mesmer's theories fed on this mild hysteria spread like wildfire. Mesmerism became all the rage. Everyone was interested in Mesmerism, and everyone professed to know something about it.

Mesmerism, in fact, became something of a religion. Mesmer himself was regarded by many as a saint. When he walked through the streets, people ran up to him just to touch his clothes; even the well-born and nobility fell on their knees before him, pleading for an appointment.

In fact, so intense a pitch had Mesmeromania reached that Paris one day witnessed the most astounding sight of hysterical people standing by the hundreds in the Rue Bondi, grasping the end of ropes tied to a tree which Mesmer had "magnetized," all faithfully waiting for some miracle that would rid them of their ailments.

By now Mesmer, because of the tremendous enthusiasm with which his work was regarded, had become thoroughly convinced that he was the greatest physician of all time. He began to magnetize everything in sight. He magnetized water, making his patients drink it and bathe in it. He magnetized cups, plates, mirrors and musical instruments. He was busier than ever, making passes with his hands at all sorts of objects, and he was in his greatest glory.

Mesmer's downfall was just as swift and sudden as his upsurge. The outbreak of the French Revolution put an end to his popularity, his dramatic cures and his immense income. He retired to Switzerland on a pension from the French government. Until his death in 1815 he was firmly convinced that he devised a new and effective method of treating all the disorders that the human body and mind was heir to.

Franz Anton Mesmer had many unorthodox ideas and methods. In his day he attracted a great deal of praise and censure, yet he did contribute something of importance in helping us to understand the workings of the human mind.

It was Mesmer's belief that disease was a disturbance of the human body's normal harmony; this consisted in a rhythmic ebb and flow sensitive to the action of the heavenly bodies, which had "an effect on all essential parts of living bodies, particularly on the

nervous system....by means of an all-penetrating fluid". Health could be restored through the establishment of the normal rhythm by means of magnetic treatment, an operation in which a force (supposedly "animal magnetism") passed from the physician to the patient.

When he started practice Mesmer used a magnet, whose rather unusual powers had been recognised by physicians of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Many eminent doctors of the past had unusual faith in the powers of magnets. Paracelsus wrote a book *of the power of magnets* in which he gave precise information and instructions regarding the treatment of epilepsy by placing four magnets on the abdomen and one on the head. Other physicians had other ideas as how to use the magnet as a healing instrument.

In time Mesmer gave up the use of the magnet to induce cures and began to use his hands. His method was as follows, according to a contemporary account: "He sat opposite his patient, placed his hands for a while on his shoulders, 'in order to get in harmony with him,' made stroking movements along the arm and held for an instant the sufferer's thumb. This he repeated three times, then carried out the movements from the head to the feet, resting on the affected parts somewhat longer. He used the thumb and first finger, the flat of the hand, one finger only, or the finger tips. He increased the effect by using a conductor, a small rod of iron, glass or other material."

This conception was based on the theory of crisis (that an illness should be pushed to its height). Dr. D' Eslon published a book in 1779 in which he stated the philosophy of animal magnetism so successfully practised by Mesmer in the following words: "As there is only one nature, one life, and one health, so is there only one disease, one remedy and one cure. If the action of nature is regular, man is healthy; if this action meets with obstacles, nature endeavors to overcome them. So there are crises, which sometimes heal and sometimes injure, according to whether nature is successful or not. Doctors have given every one of these possibilities a different name, declaring them to be so many illnesses. The effects are countless, but the cause is always the same; all remedies, even when apparently vastly different, have the same effect and one cannot heal in any other way than by the crisis and its reaction."

In spite of his flamboyant methods and his spectacular cures Mesmer made a very real contribution to medicine. He lived at a time when nervous disorders were neglected by physicians and when the insane were subjected to cruel treatment. It was Mesmer who

for the first time brought to light the fact that the will and suggestive power of one individual can have a healing effect upon another suffering from nervous disorders. He recognised the value of hypnosis and stressed the necessity of using the patient's own will in combating disease. This important phase of Mesmer's work was further elaborated by Dr. James Braid, who became convinced that it is possible to bring about a genuine, self-induced sleep in a patient by causing him to stare at a bright, inanimate object. Braid finally disproved the theory that a fluid or other influence passed from the operator to the patient during a session of hypnotism and demonstrated that hypnotic effects were wholly subjective.

The technique of hypnosis was further developed by Dr. Charcot's famous school of neurology at the Salpetriere in Paris, Charcot's greatest contribution to this field of treatment was his demand that hypnosis be used in only very special types of cases.

For many months at the height of Charcot's fame, a young Viennese doctor was one of his most ardent students. This young man was Sigmund Freud, who inspired by what he saw at Charcot's clinic, later established the importance of the subconscious mind and its influence on the body.

There is no doubt that Freud was foreshadowed by Mesmer who sensed the importance of psychic factors in physical disease. He was an important link in the long chain of psychiatric investigators who brought the science of psychiatry to its present state of perfection.

ANTHROPOCENTRIC ILLUSION

PROFESSOR LESLIE A. WHITE

Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan

Man has long cherished the illusion of omnipotence. It is flattering and comforting to his ego. In days gone by man has believed that he could control the weather; countless primitive peoples have had rituals for making rain, stilling high winds, or averting storms. Many have had ceremonies by means of which the course of the sun in the heavens could be "controlled." With the advance of science, however, man's faith in his omnipotence has diminished. But he still believes that he can control his civilisation.

The philosophy of science—of cause and effect relationships of determinism—has been firmly established in the study of physical phenomena. It is well entrenched in the biological fields, also. Psychology may have demonstrated the operation of the principle of cause and effect, of determinism, in mental processes, and may have dispelled the notion of free will for the *individual*. But social science is still so immature as to permit one to find refuge in a collective free will. As Professor A. L. Kroeber has recently observed :[6]

"I suspect that the resistance (to the thesis of cultural determinism) goes back to the common and deeply implanted assumption that our wills are free. As this assumption has had to yield ground elsewhere, it has taken refuge in the collective, social and historical sphere. Since the chemists, physiologists, and psychologists have unlimbered their artillery, the personal freedom of the will is thankless terrain to maintain. Culture they have not yet attacked, so that becomes a refuge. Whatever the degree to which we have ceased to assert being free agents as individuals, in the social realm we can still claim to shape our destinies. The theologian is piping pretty small, but the social reformer very loud. We are renouncing the kingdom of heaven, but going to establish a near-millenium on earth. Our personal wills may be determined, but by collectivizing them we can still have social freedom."

Primitive man could believe that he could control the weather

[6] Kroeber and Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

only because he was ignorant; he knew virtually nothing of meteorology. And today, it is only our profound and comprehensive ignorance of the nature of culture that makes it possible for us to believe that we direct and control it. As man's knowledge and understanding grew in meteorology, his illusion of power and control dissipated. And as our understanding of culture increases, our illusion of control will languish and disappear. As Durkheim once observed, "as far as social facts are concerned, we still have the mentality of primitives."[7]

Needless to say, this is not the view taken by many today who look to science for our salvation. Far from expecting belief in our ability to control to diminish with the advance of social science, many people expect just the reverse. It has become the fashion these days to declare that if only our social sciences were as advanced as the physical sciences, then we could control our culture as we now control the physical forces of nature. The following quotation from a letter published in *Science* recently (Vols. 103, pp. 25-26, 1946) is a conservative statement of this point of view:

"For if, by employing the scientific method, men can come to understand and control the atom, there is reasonable likelihood that they can in the same way learn to understand and control human group behaviour..... It is quite within reasonable probability that social science can provide these techniques (*i.e.*, for "keeping the peace") if it is given anything like the amount of support afforded to physical science in developing the atomic bomb."

In similar vein Professor Gordon W. Allport of Harvard observes that "the United States spent two billion dollars on the invention of the atomic bomb" and asks "What is there absurd in spending an equivalent sum, if necessary, on the discovery of means for its control?"[8]

The premise underlying this view is unsound. It assumes that wars are caused, or at least made possible, by ignorance and the lack of social control that goes with ignorance. It assumes that, given understanding through generous grants of funds to social scientists, wars could be prevented—the "peace could be kept." The lack of understanding and realism displayed here is pathetic. The instinct of self-preservation of a society that subsidized atom bomb inventors rather than social scientists holding views such as these is a sure one. Wars are not caused by ignorance, nor can "the peace be kept" by

7 *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, p. 27 (London, 1915).
8 "Guide Lines for Research in International Co-operation," p. 23 (Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 3, pp. 21-37, 1947).

the findings of social scientists. Wars are struggles between social organisms—called *nations*—for survival, struggles for the possession and use of the resources of the earth, for fertile fields; coal, oil, and iron deposits; for uranium mines, for seaports and waterways; for markets and trade routes; for military bases. No amount of understanding will alter or remove the *basis* of this struggle, any more than an understanding of the ocean's tides will diminish or terminate their flow.

But the fallacy of assuming that we can increase and perfect our control over civilization through social science is even more egregious than we have indicated. To call upon science, the essence of which is acceptance of the principles of cause and effect and determinism, to support a philosophy of Free Will, is fairly close to the height of absurdity. Verily, Science has become the modern magic! The belief that man can work his will upon nature and man alike *if only he had the right formulas* once flourished in primitive society as *magic*. It is still with us today, but we now call it Science.

No amount of development of the social sciences would increase or perfect Man's control over civilization by one iota. In the man-culture system, man is the dependent, culture the independent, variable. What man thinks, feels, and does is determined by his culture. And culture behaves in accordance with its own laws. A mature development of social science would only make this fact clear.

The philosophy of Free Will and omnipotence is rampant in the field of education. "Educators," high school principals, commencement orators, and others never seem to tire of telling the world that its salvation lies in education. An eminent anthropologist, the late Clark Wissler, looking at our civilization as he would at other cultures of mankind—of the Blackfoot Indians, the Bantu tribes of Africa, or the aborigines of Australia—finds that a faith in education and in its efficacy to cure all ills is a characteristic trait of our culture. "The fact is," he says, "that we seek to solve every difficulty by education..... No matter what it may be, the combating of disease, the inauguration of a new public service, the appreciation of art, dress reform, or anything of that kind, we look to education to make it universal and popular." Our faith in education has, in fact, become our religion, as Dr. Wissler sees it:[9]

"Our culture is characterized by an overruling belief in something

[9] *Man and Culture*, pp. 8-10 (New York, 1923).

we call education—a kind of mechanism to propitiate the intent of nature in the manifestation of culture. Our implicit faith that this formula, or method, will cause this purpose to be more happily fulfilled, is our real religion."

Dr. Wissler compares our education formula with the magical formulas of primitive tribes :

"We often find among peoples we choose to call less civilized, a class of men whom we designate as shamans, medicine men, conjurors, etc..... Where such men flourish, they are called upon whenever the course of events goes wrong, sickness, famine, love war, no matter what the nature of the trouble may be, and they always proceed in one way : *i.e.*, recite or demonstrate a formula of some kind. They may sing it, they may dance it, or they may merely act it out—no matter, the idea is that if you go through with the correct formula the forces of nature will right the wrong..... In every culture formulae are used to propitiate nature in whatever form of gods or powers she is conceived, and....cultures differ not in this, for so far they are all alike, but as to the kinds of formulae into which they put their faith. Our great formula for bringing about the realization of our leading ideals is education..... It is a kind of grand over-formula by which we hope to perpetuate and perfect our culture...."

The faith of primitive man in his formulas and rituals, his medicine men and conjurors, was not shaken by a perpetual repetition of the ills they were supposed to prevent or cure. Lack of success did not prove to him that his formulas and rituals were inefficacious : it only convinced him that he needed more and better magic. And we who look to education for our "salvation" are not shaken in our faith by the spectacle of tragedy piled upon disaster. What we need, we say, is more education.

To primitive man, magic was a means, available to mankind, to exert influence upon the external world and so to shape it to his needs and desires. We think of education as an instrument with which we can transform society and mould it to our will. But education is not a force or instrument *outside* of society, but a *process within it.* It is, so to speak, a physiologic process of the social organism. Education is a means employed by society in carrying on its own activities, in striving for its own objectives. Thus, during peacetime, society educates for peace, but when the nation is at war, it educates for war. In times of peace, munitions-makers are "Merchants of Death"; in wartime, "Victory is Their Business." In peacetime, He is the Prince of Peace, but when war comes it's "Praise

the Lord and pass the ammunition." It is not people who control their culture through education; it is rather the other way around: education, formal and informal, is the process of bringing each new generation under the control of a system of culture. It is unrealistic in the extreme, therefore, to think of education reforming society from the outside. No one has stated the relationship between education and society better than the great French social scientist, Emile Durkheim :[10]

"But this is to attribute to education a power which it does not possess. It is only the image, the reflection of society. Education imitates society and reproduces it in abridged form, but it does not create it. Education is healthy when the nation itself is in a healthy state, but, not having the power of self modification, it becomes corrupted when the nation decays. If the moral milieu as it is experienced by the teachers themselves is corrupt, they cannot fail to be affected by it; how then can they impress upon those whom they train an outlook that differs from the one that they have received? Each generation is brought up by the previous generation and it is necessary therefore to reform the latter if it is to improve the one which follows it. We go around in circles. At long intervals it may well happen that someone may come along whose ideas and aspirations are in advance of those of his contemporaries, but the moral constitution of a people is not made over by these isolated individuals. No doubt it pleases us to believe that one eloquent voice is sufficient to transform the social fabric as if by magic, but, here as elsewhere, something is not produced from nothing. The strongest wills cannot create out of nothing forces which do not exist, and failures in experience always come to dispel these easy illusions. Besides, even though a pedagogical system could succeed by an incomprehensible miracle in establishing itself in antagonism to the social system, it would have no effect by reason of this very antagonism. If the collective organization (society) is maintained from which the moral state that one wishes to combat is derived, then the child cannot fail to be influenced by it from the moment he comes into contact with it. The artificial milieu of the school can only protect him for a time and then but feebly. In proportion as the real world takes greater hold of him, it will destroy the work of the educator. Thus education cannot reform itself unless society itself is reformed. And in order to do that we must go to the causes of the malady from which it suffers."

[10] Translated from *Le Suicide*, pp. 427-28 (Paris, 1897).

The position taken here will of course be vigorously denied and opposed. People do not give up their illusions easily. As A. L. Kroeber has put it :[11]

"Our minds instinctively resist the first shock of the recognition of a thing (cultural determinism) so intimately woven into us and yet so far above and so uncontrollable by our wills. We feel driven to deny its reality, to deny even the validity of dealing with it as an entity ; just as men at large have long and bitterly resented admitting the existence of purely automatic forces and system in the realm that underlies and carries and makes possible the existence of our personalities : the realm of nature."

A common reaction—verbal reflex—to the theory of cultural determination is to brand it "fatalistic" or "defeatist." Long ago William James branded as "the most pernicious and immoral of fatalisms" the philosophy of "the contemporary sociological school" that espoused "general laws and predetermined tendencies," and "denied the vital importance of individual initiative" and Free Will ("I believe in free-will myself," he says).[12] And today another student of philosophy, Dr. David Bidney, writing in the American Anthropologist, has repeatedly called the deterministic point of view of culturology "fatalistic." The choice of words is significant. Why is it that when one employs the principle of cause and effect in the realm of physical and chemical phenomena no one cries "fatalism," but the instant one applies it to human cultural phenomena this accusation leaps forth ? Why is it that an admission of our inability to control the weather brings forth no charge of "defeatism," whereas this reproach is promptly levelled against anyone who recognizes man's inability to control the course of civilization ?

The reason is fairly plain. "Fatalism" implies Free Will ; "defeatism," omnipotence. When atoms, cells, or tissues behave in accordance with their nature and properties no one calls it fatalistic because no one expects freedom of choice and action of them. But when one asserts that cultural phenomena have a nature of their own and consequently must behave in terms of their nature, the response is not an acceptance of the principle of cause and effect but a charge of "fatalism." "To many educated minds," the great English

[11] "On the Principle of Order in Civilization, etc.," p. 263 (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, pp. 235-63, 1919).

[12] "The Importance of Individuals," p. 2439 (The Open Court, Vol. 4, 1890) ; "Great Men, Great Thoughts and the Environment," p. 442 (The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 46, pp. 441-59, 1880).

anthropologist, E. B. Tylor, wrote many years ago, "there seems something presumptuous and repulsive in the view that the history of mankind is part and parcel of the history of nature, that our thoughts, wills, and actions accord with laws as definite as those which govern the motion of the waves, the combination of acids and bases, and the growth of plants..... If law is anywhere it is everywhere."[13] We have combined "a scientific realism, based on mechanism," says Alfred North Whitehead, with "an unwavering belief in the world of men and of the higher animals as being composed of *self-determining organisms*" (emphasis ours). He feels that this "radical inconsistency" is responsible for "much that is half-hearted and wavering in our civilization. It . . . enfeebles....(thought) by reason of the inconsistency lurking in the background."[14]

Implicit in the charge of "fatalism" and "defeatism" is the further notion of refutation. To brand a view "fatalistic" is, to many minds, to call it false as well. "Cultural determinism is fatalistic and therefore false," is about the way the reasoning would go if it were made explicit. "*How can determinism possibly exist?*" is the question that is implied but unspoken. "Determinism is unthinkable." And so it is to one possessed by a philosophy of free will.* We find this point of view rather well expressed by Lawrence K. Frank in a recent article, "What is Social Order?"

"Perhaps the major obstacle we face today, therefore, is this essentially defeatist tradition expressed in the various conceptions of social order described earlier, as above and beyond all human control..... In this situation, therefore, we can and we must find the courage to view social order as that which must be achieved by man himself."[15]

Of course man can "find the courage" to view social order as something "that must be achieved by himself." It does not take courage to do this, however; what is required is ignorance and hope. "Must find the courage," "must be achieved by man himself," is

[13] *Primitive Culture*, pp. 2, 24 (London, 1871).

[14] *Science and the Modern World*, p. 94 (Cambridge, England, 1933).

* Note that we have said *possessed by*, rather than "believes in." Philosophies possess, hold, animate, guide and direct the articulate, protoplasmic mechanisms that are men. Whether a man—an average man, typical of his group—"believes in" Christ or Buddha, Genesis or Geology, Determinism or Free Will, is not a matter of his own choosing. His philosophy is merely the response of his neuro-sensory-muscular-glandular system to the streams of cultural stimuli impinging upon him from the outside. What is called "philosophizing" is merely the interaction of these cultural elements within his organism. His "choice" of philosophic beliefs is merely a neurological expression of the superior strength of some of these extra-somatic cultural forces.

[15] "What is Social Order?" p. 475 (American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, pp. 470-77, 1944).

hardly the language of science. It is, rather, exhortation and rhetoric —of a type with which we have long been familiar : "If we will but purpose in our hearts.... ."

No doubt the first to question man's control over the weather, the first to claim that the winds will blow, the rain and snow fall, the seasons come and go, in accordance with their own nature rather than in obedience to man's wish and will expressed in spell and ritual, were accused of "fatalism" and "defeatism," if indeed, they were not dealt with more harshly. But, in time, we have come to accept our impotence in this regard and to become reconciled to it. If it be argued that man cannot control the weather because that is a part of the external world whereas culture, being man-made, is subject to his control, it must be pointed out that the exact opposite is the case. It is precisely in the realm of the external world that man's control is possible. He can harness the energies of rivers, fuels, and atoms because he, as one of the forces of nature, lies *outside* their respective systems and can therefore act upon them. But man, as an animal organism, as a species, lies *within* the man-culture system, and there he is the dependent, not the independent, variable ; his behavior is merely the function of his culture, not its determinant. Both theoretically and practically, therefore, it is possible for man to exert more control over the weather than over culture, for he can exert *some* control over the former even now and he may increase this control in the future. But he exerts no control whatever over his culture and theoretically there is no possibility of his ever doing so.

The usual reactions to this manifesto of cultural determinism are as unwarranted as are the assumptions of Free Will, from which, of course, these responses flow. After expostulating on the theme of "fatalism" and "defeatism" the conventional protest goes on to demand, "What is the use then of our efforts ? Why should we try to do anything to improve our lot if we have no control over our culture ? Why not just sit back and let the evolutionary process take care of everything ? Of what use could a science of culture possibly be to us if control lies beyond our grasp ? What good is an understanding of culture if there is nothing we can do about it ?"

These questions are naive and betray a lack of understanding of what the cultural determinist—the culturologist—is trying to say. The determinist does not assert that man is irrelevant to the culture process. He knows full well that the contrary is the case ; that man is an absolute prerequisite to it, that without man there could be no culture. He realizes very clearly the essential role that man

plays in the system that is man-and-culture. What the culturologist contends is that in this system the human organism is not the determinant; that the behavior of the culture process cannot be explained in terms of this organism but only in terms of the culture itself; that the growth and changes among the Indo-European languages, for example, cannot be accounted for in terms of man's nerves, muscles, senses, or organs of speech; or in terms of his hopes, needs, fears, or imagination. Language must be explained in terms of language.

But to turn to some of the specific questions with which dissatisfaction with the philosophy of determinism is expressed. In the first place, we cannot "just sit back" and let the evolutionary process take care of all our problems. While we live we are confronted by our culture and we must come to terms with it. Even just sitting back, incubating a case of dementia praecox, is "doing something about it." So is committing suicide; as a matter of fact, suicide rates for various societies provide excellent indexes of cultural determinism. In some societies the rate is high; in others suicide is virtually non-existent. This is not because suicide determinants are more abundant in the chromosomes of some populations than of others. It is due to the fact that the cultural determinants vary: *hara-kiri* is something that a culture does to an organism that, of its own nature, tends to persevere in that form of motion we call "Life." It is obvious that we cannot avoid reacting to our culture.

To assume that the process of cultural evolution will take care of everything without effort on our part is of course absurd, and constitutes no part of the determinist's philosophy. Of course, we must exert ourselves while we live; we cannot do otherwise. But the question is not "Who does the work, ourselves or cultural evolution?" It is obvious that the energy is expended by or through human beings. The question is, *What determines the nature, the form and content of this expression of energy in the culture process, the human organism or the extra-somatic culture?* The answer is of course fairly obvious—after a small amount of reflection. Let us consider two groups of human organisms, A and B. Group A raises taro, catches fish, carves wood, makes no pottery, speaks a Polynesian language, has chiefs but no currency, is non-literate, drinks *kava*, is greatly concerned with genealogy, and so on. Group B mines coal and iron, talks Welsh, imports its food from the outside, uses money, is literate, drinks ale, etc. Now the question is, Why does each group behave as it does? Is it that one group of organisms possesses traits or characteristics—genes, instincts, or psychological tendencies—that

cause them to drink *kava* rather than ale? This is, of course, ridiculous; the one group of organisms is fundamentally like the other biologically. It is obvious that each group of organisms behaves as it does because each is reacting to a particular set of cultural stimuli. It is obvious also that a consideration of the human organism is totally irrelevant to the question. Why is one group stimulated by one set of stimuli rather than by another? This is a cultural historical question, not a biological or psychological one. So, one is not so silly as to say, "Why should we mine coal or catch fish? Let our culture do it." The question is not who mines the coal, but what is the determinant of this behavior? And, the culturologist points out the obvious: the culture is the determinant.

The reaction of many sincere, altruistic and conscientious people, upon being told that it is not they who control their culture and direct its course, is "Why then should we try to do good, to better our lot and that of mankind?" We have answered this question in part already. In the first place one cannot avoid trying to do something. As long as one accepts life and is willing to continue with it he must exert himself. "Trying" is merely the name we give to the effort exerted in the process of living. To strive for this or that, therefore, is inseparable from our lives. But *what* one strives for and *how* his effort is expressed is determined by his culture. For example, the goal of one people may be eternal life in heaven for which their terrestrial existence is but a preparation. The goal of another might be the good life "here below." One group may deny the reality of sickness; another may admit its existence and try to combat it. One group may use charms and incantations; another, clinics and laboratories. Whatever the goal and whatever the means employed to reach it, is a matter determined by the culture of the group.

But, it should be pointed out with emphasis, this is not a philosophy of defeatism or hopelessness by any means. Least of all does it declare that one's efforts do not count. The fact that one's efforts to stamp out tuberculosis are culturally determined in no way minimizes the effort or the result. A life saved is a life saved. A letter written to a congressman has an *effect*, too, no matter what kind or how much. A resolution on world affairs passed by a woman's club has a real function in society, although it may be a very different one from that imagined by the good ladies. The question we raise is *not* one of the value of effort or whether effort has consequences. Human effort is just as real as anything in the realm of the geologist. And effort is followed by consequences just as effect follows cause

in physics or geology. Living human beings cannot help but exert themselves, and everything they do counts for something in one way or another. Far from wishing to deny or ignore this, we wish to emphasize it. But this is not the question raised by the culturologist, the cultural determinist. What he claims is not that it is futile to try because what one does counts for nought, but that what one does, how does it, and the end and purpose for which it is done is culturally determined, is determined by the culture of the group rather than by the free will of the individual or of the group. More than that, what a person or group desires is determined or at least defined by the culture, not by them. What constitutes the "good life" for any people is always culturally defined.

From the cultural determinist's point of view, human beings are merely the instruments through which cultures express themselves. A physician, saving lives each day, is an instrument through which certain cultural forces express themselves; if they were not there, or if they were different, the organism in question would not be practising medicine or he would practise it in a different way. The gangster, evangelist, revolutionist, reformer, policeman, impoverished beggar, wealthy parasite, teacher, soldier, and shaman are likewise instruments of cultural action and expression; each is a type of primate organism grasped and wielded by a certain set of culture traits. It is only the inveterate habit of thinking anthropocentrically that makes this point of view seem strange or ridiculous.

But, granting that what we do counts even though it is culturally determined, of what use is it to develop a science of culture if we cannot control civilization or direct its course? We have a science of pathology in order to combat disease, sciences of physics and chemistry to control the external world. But if we do not control our culture and cannot ever hope to control it, of what use would a science of culture be? We might begin our reply to this question by asking, of what value is it to know the temperature of a star a million light years away? Questions such as these betray a limited understanding of science. Science is not primarily a matter of control in the sense of harnessing rivers with hydroelectric plants or constructing uranium piles. Science is a means of adjustment; control is but one aspect of adjustment. Man finds himself in a universe to which he must adjust if he is to continue to live in it. Mythology and science are means of adjustment; they are interpretations of the world in terms of which man behaves. There is, of course, a vast difference in terms of adjustment between a philosophy that interprets stars as a flock

of snow birds lost in the sky, and one that measures their masses, distances, dimensions, and temperatures. This difference is a very practical one, too, in terms of the contribution that each philosophy makes to the security of life.

Our ancestors once thought they could control the weather as contemporary savages still do. They finally outgrew this illusion, even going so far as to outgrow calling the new view "fatalistic" and "defeatist." But we do not think a knowledge and an understanding of weather and climate useless. On the contrary, we are devoting more time and money to meteorology now than ever before. Here again we see the situation in terms of adjustment rather than *control*. We may not be able to control the weather but adjust to it we must. And knowledge and understanding make for more effective and satisfying adjustments. It would be advantageous if we *could* control the weather. But if we cannot, then weather prediction is the next best thing. And for prediction we must have knowledge and understanding.

So it is with culture. We cannot control its course but we can learn to predict it. As a matter of fact, we make predictions all the time and many of them are quite accurate : wheat production, traffic fatalities, freight car loadings, births, exhaustion of oil reserves, and many other matters are already within the reach of limited but nevertheless valuable prediction. If our ability to predict were greatly increased by the development and maturation of a science of culture the possibilities of a rational, effective, and humane adjustment between man and culture and between one cultural segment and another would be increased accordingly. If, for example, a science of culture could demonstrate that the trend of social evolution is toward larger political groupings, then the chances of making the futile attempt to restore or maintain the independence of small nations would be lessened. If the trend of cultural evolution is away from private property and free enterprise why strive to perpetuate them ? If it could be shown that international wars will continue as long as independent, sovereign nations exist, then certain delusions now popular would find less nourishment and support. The fact is that culture has been evolving as an unconscious, blind, bloody, brutal, tropismatic process so far. It has not yet reached the point where intelligence, self-consciousness, and understanding are very conspicuous. Our ignorance is still deep-rooted and widespread. We do not understand even some of the most elementary things—the prohibition of polygamy for example. In short, we are so ignorant that

we can still believe that it is we who make our culture and control its course.

This ignorance is not surprising however. It has not been very long since we gave up burning witches, cudgelling hysterics to drive out demons, and other savage practices. Even in technology, which tends to outstrip the social and ideological sectors, we have surpassed the savage at two points—fire-making and the use of the bow and arrow—only within the last century or two. Chemical matches are but a little more than a century old and the bow and arrow was used in bison hunting on the American Plains in preference to the best firearms available at the time within the last hundred years. It is only yesterday, culturologically speaking, that a small portion of mankind began to emerge from a condition of savagery. For most of his career thus far man has subsisted wholly upon wild foods; less than two per cent of human history as a matter of fact has elapsed since the origin of agriculture. Other significant indexes: some 0.7 per cent of culture history since the beginning of metallurgy, 0.35% since the first alphabet, 0.033% since Galileo, 0.009% since the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, and only 0.002% since William Jennings Bryan and the Scopes trial. A mature, urbane, and rational civilization is not to be achieved in a mere million years from the anthropoid level.

It should be made clear that if an adequate understanding should come about as a consequence of a science of culture it would not have been "us" who achieved it but our culture. In the interaction of elements in the culture process, those traits less effective in providing adequate adjustment in terms of understanding and control are gradually relinquished and replaced by more effective traits. Thus, bronze axes replace stone axes, ikons and spells give way to laboratories and clinics, and finally, a science of human culture begins to challenge the primitive philosophy of omnipotence and Free Will. The new science will of course have to prove its superiority over the older view just as astronomy, chemistry, and medicine have in other sectors of experience. The success of science—the philosophy of materialism, of cause and effect, of determinism—in the physical and biological sectors of experience encourages us greatly in the belief that this point of view and these techniques of interpretation will prove effective in the cultural sphere also.

Our role in this process is a modest one. Neither as groups nor as individuals do we have a choice of roles or of fates. Swedes are born into their culture just as Zulus, Tibetans, and Yankees are born

into theirs. And each individual is thrust by birth into some particular place in the "magnetic field" of his culture, there to be moulded by the particular organization of cultural influences that play upon him. Thus he may have the belief that typhoid exists only in the mind, or is caused by witches or bacilli, thrust upon him—or "into his mind." He may be endowed with a belief in personal immortality, the efficacy of prayer, or the Periodic Law of Mindeleyev. He may be inspired to preach the only true faith to the heathen in distant lands, or to wear out his life in a genetics laboratory, or to believe that "only saps work." To be sure, the response of the human organism to cultural stimulation will vary with the quality of the organism. Some will be silk purses; others, sows' ears. The order in which an organism undergoes experiences is important, too; the influence of events *a*, *b*, *c* will not be the same as *a*, *c*, *b*. An experience will have one effect at fifteen; quite another at fifty. There is room therefore for almost infinite variety of permutation and combination in the experience of individual organisms.

Man discovers his place in the cosmos slowly and accepts it with extreme reluctance. Time was when his solid earth was planted in the center, the sun and stars spread upon the vault of heaven, and men and gods together acted out the drama of life and death. It was all so compact, so familiar, so secure. Then it was that man, like God, could cry "Let there be light," and there was light. Like God, too, man was "omnipotent," if however to a lesser degree. With his magic formulas, his spells, prayers, charms and rituals, mighty man could control the weather, the seasons, and even enlist the gods in the service of man. Now it is different. Man finds himself but one of innumerable animal species crawling about on an insignificant planetary speck, fighting, feeding, breeding, dying. Once the child of God, he now finds himself an ex-ape. But he has acquired a new faculty, one unknown among all other species: articulate speech. As a consequence of this a new way of life has been developed: culture. But this culture, this mass of extra-somatic tools, institutions and philosophies, has a life and laws of its own. Man is just beginning to understand this.

Man is wholly at the mercy of external forces, astronomic and geologic. As a matter of fact, it is rather disconcerting to think of how narrow is the margin within which man lives. Change the temperature, velocity, amount of water, or atmosphere of the earth but a little and life would cease. It is a curious, and from a cosmic viewpoint, momentary, concatenation of circumstances that has

made life possible. Man did long rebel against his dependence upon these outside forces; to be wholly at their mercy was unendurable. As a matter of fact, man has employed his precious and unique gift of sp ech more to deny the facts of his existence than to improve upon them. But a certain portion of the human race has come at last to accept our dependence upon nature and to try to make the most of it.

And so it is with culture. Belief in our omnipotence has, as Durkheim says, always been a source of weakness to us. But we are now discovering the true nature of culture and we can in time reconcile ourselves to this extra-somatic order as we have to the astronomi c, geologic, and meteorologic orders. To give up magic and mythology which promised much but yielded nothing—nothing but the soothing comfort of illusion—was a painful experience. But to receive and accept a science and a technology which promises less but achieves a great deal is to reach a goal most men are loathe to lose. We may believe that knowledge and understanding of culture will make for a more satisfactory life just as these traits have been of value in physics and biology. To be sure, understanding culture will not, as we have argued here, alter its course or change the "fate" that it has in store for us, any more than understanding the weather or the tides will change them. But as long as man remains an inquiring primate he will crave understanding. And a growing Science of Culture will provide him with it.

BUDDHISTIC INFLUENCE IN THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

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The Brahmanical works as a rule do not refer to the Buddhist doctrines or philosophy. In few philosophical works we come across polemics against the Buddhist systems of philosophy. The *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* is an exception where we get an exposition of the Buddhist system of philosophy. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is a production of Brahmanic writer, Somadeva by name, who might have derived some materials from Prakrit works of Guṇāḍhya. In this work there is one section (*taraṅga* 65) which speaks of the Buddhist *Brahmavihāras*. In the 72nd Section (*taraṅga*) the writer gives an exposition of the six *pāramitās* of the Buddhist without mentioning that he has borrowed them from any Buddhist source. Here is also reproduced a story from the Buddhist Jātaka. Traces of a degraded form of Buddhism, usually known as the Tantric Buddhism, are also not wanting here. In this paper my object has been to point out and discuss the few elements of Buddhism that appear in this work.

Buddhism, especially Mahāyāna Buddhism, inculcated the conception of the Bodhisattva. It is, therefore, an important term in Buddhism. This word appears several times in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[1] The term Bodhisattva etymologically means one whose essence is highest knowledge. In other words, one in whom there is essence of perfect wisdom. But it is employed in a technical sense in Buddhism. It means a being who is on the way to Buddhahood (highest enlightenment) but has not yet obtained it. In the Pali canon a Buddhisattva is regarded as the preliminary form of a Buddha. Śākyamuni Buddha is known as the Bodhisattva up to the time when he obtained enlightenment (Buddhahood), not only in his earthly existence, but in all the existences, as man, animal or god before he was reformed as the son of king Śuddhodana—in Hīnayāna Buddhism there being only one Bodhisattva while in Mahāyāna myriads of Bodhisattvas. A Bodhisattva is thus a being who has taken a vow that he will become a Buddha for the salvation of the world while

[1] Published by Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1930, pp. 340. 341, 378, 383, 384, 442.

an Arhat has no higher aim than his own salvation. To earlier triad of the Hīnayāna faith, the Mahāyāna Buddhism added, 'Bodhisattvas who like Greek gods came to represent the fair humanities of old religion with which the religion of duty filled the earth and the heaven excelling in their spiritual being, mental sweep, all-embracing love and sympathy, the ideal of service, the finer religious emotions and aesthetic religious graces—all that has as yet been achieved and created in the sphere of abstract conception and refined human imagination . . . . . it brought at least into being the idea of Sukhāvatī or eternal paradise of bliss forming the abode of Buddha Amitābha of infinite light satisfying the growing spiritual need of the Buddhist.'

Mention is made in the text of *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *kṣānti*.[1] These words have special significances in Buddhism, especially in Mahāyanā Buddhism. They are rather technical terms and with the exception of *kṣānti* they are included in the list of the *Brahmavihāras* on which much emphasis is laid by the Mahāyānists for their proper observance in life for the attainment of the desired good—*kṣānti* being included in the list of *pāramitās*. *Brahmavihāra* is that state of mind whereby one rises higher and higher in his spiritual life leading to that bliss which one hankers after in life. There are four *Brahmaviharas*, *viz.*, *maitrī*, *Karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā* which are classed under samādhi. Of them *karuṇā* is the keynote of all the practices of a Bodhisattva.

In the *kathāsaritsāgara* we find mention of the six *pāramitās* with illustrative tales.[2] They are *dāna*, *Śīla*, *kṣamā*, *dhairya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*.[3] *Pāramitās* are the highest perfections through which a Bodhisattva must pass before he becomes a Buddha. They are the primary practices of a Bodhisattva and occupy an important place in Mahāyānic Vinaya. The ten *pāramitās* enumerated in the Mahāyāna works are: *dāna*, *Śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna*, *prajñā*, *upāyakausalya*, *praṇidhāna*, *bala* and *jñāna*. The Hīnayāna works also speak of ten *pāramitās*, but they are slightly different. The first five given above agree while the remaining five differ. They are: *nekkhommo* (*nikṣramaṇa*), *sacca* (*satya*), *adhiṭṭhāna* (*adhiṣṭhāna*), *mettā* (*maitrī*) and *upekkha* (*upekṣa*). Though in the Mahāyāna, as in the Hīnayāna,

[1] Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, p. 340.

स राज्यं प्राप्य करुणामुदिताक्षान्तिभिः सह।
अरंस्त न तु पापाभिः क्लीबिश्चपलहृत्तिभिः॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, pp. 380-384.

[3] Ibid, p. 384: बुद्धोक्तदानादिषट्कपारमिता बुधाः।

ten *pāramitās* are sometimes enumerated, yet more frequently six of them are mentioned which are *dāna, Śīla, kṣanti, vīrya, dhyāna,* and *prajñā*. In Pāli the *pāramitās* are technically called *Buddhakārakā* or *Buddhakārakādhammā*. In the kathāsaritsāgara, however, *dhairya* has been mentioned as one of the six *pāramitās* instead of *vīrya*. *Dhairya* as a *pāramitā* is not to be met with in any of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

It should he mentioned that *pāramitās, brahmavihāras* and the like made Buddhism most popular as also an all-India religion, nay all-Asiatic one.

Here are related briefly the tales relevant to each of the six *pāramitās* as in the *kathāsaritsāgara*. To start with, the story relating to *dānapāramitā*[1] is as follows: Once upon a time there was a king named Malaya-Prabha who was always charitably disposed to his subjects. Once a famine broke out in his kingdom but the king was persuaded by his wicked ministers from giving away at that time. At this his son, Induprabha earnestly requested his father not to stop his charity to his subjects. But his father rebuked him saying that he had no inexhaustible wealth and if he so desired he might do it. Being highly rejected the son retired to a forest where he began to practise severe penance so that he might be a wishing-tree (kalpavṛkṣa) to the people. Indra, the king of gods, became highly pleased with his penance and gave him a boon. He became a 'wishing-tree' (kalpavṛkṣa) at once and began to fulfil all the desires of the people. Once Indra came to him and asked him to go to heaven with him. He refused saying that he did not like to enjoy the pleasures of heaven renouncing his duty of giving away to others. At this Indra became pleased and came back to heaven with all his people, and the prince, Induprabha, leaving aside the shape of a tree became a Bodhisattva through his severe austerity.

The second relates to *Śilapāramitā*[2] and is as follows: In ancient times there lived on the Vindhya mountain a king of parrots named Hemaprabha who had a parrot minister of the name of chārumati who was foolish and addicted to worldly pleasures. His wife died at the hands of a fowler and he was very much afflicted with grief. In order to console him the king one day took him to a lake and showed him his own reflection in the water. He took it to be his wife and wanted to embrace her, but failed. He came back thinking

1 Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, pp. 380-381.

2 Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, p. 381.

that his wife was angry with him. Then he brought one *āmalaka* fruit and dropped it on the reflection but the fruit rose up. He thought that his offer had been rejected by her. Chārumati being thus dejected came to the king and told him everything. At this the king told him that his wife was in love with another. He took him to the lake again and showed him two reflections close together. Chārumati became very sorry and asked the king to advise him what to do then. Taking this opportunity the king told him of the evil nature of a woman. Chārumati renounced the company of women and gradually became averse to all sensual pleasures.

Here is the third refering to *kṣamāpāramitā*.[1] Once there lived on the mount Kedāra a sage named Śubhanaya. One night a few robbers came there in search of the lump of gold which they had buried previously there, but failed to find it out. Then they came to the sage thinking that it had been carried off by the sage. On being interrogated the sage pleaded his ignorance in the matter. The robbers took hold of him and cut off his hands and feet. The sage remained unperturbed and the robbers left him thinking that some body else might have stolen it. On the following day King Sekhorajyoti, a disciple of the sage, came to the hermitage and found the sage in that plight. Learning everything the king had the robbers brought to his presence and ordered them to be beheaded. The sage asked the king to pardon them and the robbers were thus saved from punishment. On account of this forbearance the body of the sage became unmaimed forthwith as before.

Now comes the fourth relating to *Dhairyapāramitā*.[2] Once there was a young brahmin named Mālādhara. One day he noticed a Prince of the *siddhas* going through the air. He also wanted to fly through the air and fastened to his sides wings of grass so that he might do the same. He tried it everyday but in vain. The prince of the *siddhas* perchance saw him trying so and took pity on him. He took the brahmin youth to him by his supernatural power and made him his follower.

The fifth relates to *dhyāna pāramitā*[3] and is as follows: Once there lived in a city in Karṇāṭa a wealthy merchant named Vijayamālin who had a son of the name of Malayamālin. One day the son went to the court of king Indukeśin and saw there his beautiful daughter Induyaśas. He became enamoured of her at the very first

1 Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, pp. 381, 382.
2 Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press.
3 Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasagar Press, pp. 382, 383.

sight. He returned home and became deeply engrossed in her thought. He often forgot to take his meals and every body thought that he had become mad. He had an intimate friend named Mantharaka who was a painter in the royal court of Indukeśin. He disclosed everything to him who tried to console Malayamālin but in vain. Then taking pity on him he painted the daughter of the king in a piece of canvas and gave it to him. He took consolation in it. One fullmoon night he went into the forest to amuse himself with her there. He placed the picture at the foot of a tree and went a little distance to gather flowers. A hermit named Vinayajyoti noticed it and came down from heaven out of compassion to remove his delusion. He painted a cobra in the picture and stood invisible. Malayamālin came back shortly with the flowers and became highly astonished at it. He, however, adorned the picture with the flowers. While he was about to embrace her in love, he found to his astonishment his darling bitten by the snake. At this he fell down unconscious on the ground. The sage appeared before him and told him the truth of it. Malayamālin fell down at his feet and requested him to instruct him. The sage gave him a religious discourse and in course of time the young merchant became an arhat.

Here comes the sixth or the last refering to *Prajñāpāramitā*.[1] In ancient times there lived in Sinhaladvīpa a robber named Sinhavikrama. When he grew old, he gave up his nefarious occupation and thought of securing grace of some deity through which he might be saved from his sins. After long and careful consideration he thought of taking resort to Chitragupta who records good and evil deeds of beings. He used to worship him and feed brahmins to win his grace. One day Chitragupta came in the guise of a brahmin to test his sincerity and asked the robber to give him his wife. He gave her to Chitragupta at once. Chitragupta being highly pleased wanted to give him a boon. At this the robber requested him to give him a boon so that he might not die at any time. Chitragupta pleaded his inability in the matter but she, however, told him the means to escape death. He asked him to go to the hermitage of sage Śveta, situated on the other side of the river Taraṅginī, which was beyond the reach of the god of Death (yama). He also told him not to cross the river at any time and if he would violate his injunction he would be subject to death. Taking pity on the robber Chitragupta had him carried into the hermitage of Śveta where he was comfortably lodged.

[1] Kathāsaritsagara Nirnayasagar Press, pp. 383, 384.

One day the god of Death (yamarāja) created through his supernatural power a heavenly nymph to get hold of the robber. The nymph approached him who lived with him for sometime. One day she crossed the river on the pretext of going to her relatives, the robber too followed her, forgetting the injunction. As soon as he crossed the river he was carried off into the place of the god of Death. But he, however, escaped punishment through the intercession of Chitragupta and went to heaven to enjoy pleasures there.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara there appears a Jātaka tale. It is the tale of a Bodhisattva who was born as a boar (Varāha-Jataka)[1] in one of his previous existences before he became a Buddha for the salvation of the world. It runs as follows: Once there lived on the Vindhya mountain a boar with his friend a monkey. He was charitably disposed to all creatures. One night while the boar was sleeping with his friend, a lion with his lioness and cub came to the cave of the boar in search of food which he could not procure for them for several days due to bad weather. Waking up from his sleep the boar found them all and learnt everything from the lion. He then offered himself to them as their food. They, however, satisfied their hunger with his flesh. At that moment *Dharma* in his bodily form appeared before them and through his grace the boar obtained a heavenly body and became one of the chief sages. This story, however, does not appear in our Pāli Jātaka—there being no tale entitled Varāha-Jātaka in Pāli. Further, the tales of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā[2] have their sources that are distinctly Budhistic in origin—a late form of Buddhism, the Tanticism. There is also the story a Buddhist monk named Ratnachandramati who defeated King Vinītamati in a debate and the king had to adopt Buddhist faith accordingly as to his previous understanding. There are others besides.

Somadeva, as already observed, was a Brahmanic writer. He belonged to Kashmir where Guṇāḍhya's Prakrit works, especially the Bṛhat Kathā, were most widely known—tales being mostly invented in Kashmir. Since early centuries of the Christian era Kashmir had been a great seat of Buddhistic studies. It was also a centre for the dissemination of Buddhist culture to countries outside India. Buddhism that was introduced there and that was prevalent during Guṇāḍhya's time was Hīnayāna with Mahāyānic features here and there, we may rather call it Semi-Mahāyāna—the adherents of which

[1] Kathāsaritsāgara Nirnayasagar Press, p. 378.

[2] Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirnayasāgar Press, pp. 407ff.

were known as the Sarvāstivādins. They had their activities confined not only to Kashmir but also extended almost to the whole of Northern India. They employed Sanskrit as their literary medium. So we might reasonably expect that Guṇāḍhya could not escape the influence of the then Buddhism—one is generally influenced by contemporary ideas. There is, therefore, no room for doubt that his works, now lost, should contain references to it. Fortunately, there are in the *Kathāsaṛitsāgara*, the main basis of which is the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya, a few distinguishing features which are as interesting as they are important in Buddhism—the influence of which on no account be ignored. Here it may also he observed that Buddhism prevalent during Somadeva's time in Kashmir was a corrupt form of Buddhism, the Tantric Buddhism, consisting in magic crircles, mysterious syllables, invocation to supernatural beings and the like. It thus paved the way for its ultimate absorption with Hinduism. Traits of such Buddhism also appear here.

RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS

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Probably there is no question which concerns Americans more vitally these days than our relations with Russia and the Russians. We may mean by this our relations with those people all over the world who call themselves Communists, whether they be in our trade unions, in China, or behind the Iron Curtain. The principal question that we have in connection with this large problem is as to how seriously we should take them. One has the very simple alternatives of taking them too seriously, or not seriously enough. If we should not take the Russians seriously enough it would almost certainly lead to a war, which we would have to finish at a cost that would be staggering because we would have to finish the Russians. On the other hand, if we take them too seriously, we may spend ourselves into bankruptcy—which is exactly what they would like us to do. They have long been convinced that the Marxian theory leads to but one conclusion : that Capitalism is subject to severe crises, from time to time ; the kind of crises that we call depressions. That would be their great opportunity. They are convinced that we are going to have another great depression and, of course, if we should spend ourselves into bankruptcy that would certainly bring one on.

In trying to decide where the happy middle ground is between taking the Russians too seriously and not seriously enough, we would like to know what the twelve or more men called the Politbureau, residing in the Kremlin, think of their own chances in a war with America, and how far they may and will go in pushing us around. They certainly have appraised their own total resources very carefully, to determine just what their chances would be in a war of aggression. This would be the first major war of aggression that modern Russians would have undertaken. They have generally been on the defensive and have therefore learned what their nation will do on the defensive. As a matter of fact, they do magnificently. They seem to be obsessed with a love of their country as a home ; so any invasion, abuse of their people, or destruction of their property brings about a reaction that has almost always been disastrous for those who have tried invasion. The Politbureau knows, therefore,

what Russians can and will do if invaded. The real question is : what could and would they do if they became the aggressors for no other reason than to spread their idea of extreme socialism throughout Europe and the world.

It would be impossible to determine how we should apportion the credit for the remarkable achievement of America in the past World War between the aggressive and resourceful qualities of our man-power and the qualities and extent of our technological achievements. Perhaps it is impossible to separate the two, but the fact remains that we could not have accomplished the miracle we did accomplish between 1941, when we had to start from scratch, and 1945, when we had waged a total war in both the Pacific and the Atlantic, and had so completely wrecked the two aggressors that they surrendered unconditionally, without both resourceful men and an advanced technology. Americans are the most resourceful people in the world for the simple and obvious reason that they are descendants of the most resourceful people in Europe ; those who chose not to stand for what they found there, but came to a new continent and conquered it under the most difficult circumstances, largely by virtue of their inate talent and resourcefulness. Furthermore, they were resourceful in a fashion that emphasized technology ; they learned to make everything they needed and wanted. They learned to improvise and perfect better than any other people in the world. Germans can perfect, but they do not improvise as well as we.

It turns out, likewise, in an appraisal of the power available to the various nations only a year ago, that America has more than 45% of all the developed power available for production. Russia had only 8%, Canada had 7%, and Britain had 6%. In other words, the great nation of Russia, with two hundred million people, has only 1% more power than the small nation of Canada, of no more than fifteen million, and less than one-fifth as much power as we have. We probably would say that we could not have succeeded in the war without our plentiful supply of developed power and equally ample supply of industrial equipment. So America has been tested out in resourcefulness of its men, its power, in its ability to produce the equipment required for war, and in its ability to go across oceans to wage war successfully under the most difficult conditions.

In the face of this, we have the problem of trying to determine for ourselves, because no one is going to tell us, just what are the qualities of the Russian people to do likewise. We rather hope that the men of the Politbureau have appraised their own people realistically

and know whether they could ever wage a war of aggression through Europe, into Africa and elsewhere, to spread their extreme philosophy. It is unthinkable that we would be the aggressor in the fashion that Napoleon and the Germans have been in Russia; hence, in some fashion the leaders would have to persuade the Russian people that they were in grave danger of being destroyed, even though they could not see anyone on the horizon whose intentions might seem to be to destroy them. Likewise, they must convince themselves that they have a transportation system, that they have the quality and can make the quantity of equipment required to do approximately what we did in this past war. They have had a demonstration of what we can do; they must decide for themselves whether they can equal it and better it.

We have just appraised the American people but should repeat that an American is the end-product of probably six thousand years of the finest developments and achievements of the finest civilisations on earth, all brought to America by the most resourceful, independent, and vigorous people that Europe has produced in the last three hundred years. This has been demonstrated. On the other hand, what is it probable that Russians can do? We may learn from their background just what they probably will and can do.

How frequently we hear evidence of beliefs concerning expected Russian achievements that do not seem well founded: that they know all the so-called secrets of atomic bombs and will have satisfactory bombs in two, three, or five years. That they will produce planes, engines, locomotives, automobiles, etc., just as good as those we produce. But does it follow that because a pupil in art or music has learned to produce a recognizable painting or play, or to fashion a difficult composition, that therefore, if he is diligent, he will produce a perfect painting or play? This seems just too naive. We all know it is not true; so how likely are the boasted achievements of the Russians? It seems very clear that communism is a militant philosophy. Those who sponsor it must bluster, fight, and confiscate or they will fall apart; there is, seemingly, nothing constructive in the philosophy or in its sponsors, so we must expect their outbursts and abuse. What is behind it?

Russia

It has been said so many times and in so many places that Russia now comprises one-sixth of the land area of the world land

area. Reports are very indefinite. Again, we are apt to imagine that in this vast area there would be just about everything, in unlimited quantities. This is not necessarily true, but that there are ample quantities of iron, coal, aluminum, lead, zinc, and most of the minerals needed for domestic and war use is probably true. The real point always is : how far apart are these resources, and how easily can they be transported to the places where they are refined and later used. It is here that the difficulties arise in Russia. It is still cheaper to buy coal in England and have it hauled by boat to Leningrad than it is to haul it over their rickety railroads from their own mines. Their deposits of iron and coal are so far apart, and their transportation system is still so inadequate in both quality and quantity, that they are producing less than one-third of the iron and steel that the Western European countries are producing. Even Western Germany would exceed the amounts produced in Russia if their industries were permitted to operate at full capacity.

As to power, in which they are woefully short, having less than one-fifth of the amount available in America, it is unwise to assume that they can develop very much water power. In America, of all the power that is used, only 4% is developed from water. It is hard to believe this when one sees the great water-power developments and observes how colossal they appear ; the fact remains, however, that these great developments provide very little of the power that we require. So Russia cannot depend too much on water power ; they must get it from coal. The coal is in isolated places and must be hauled long distances along inadequate transportation lines. To develop steam power from coal requires tremendous quantities of cold water in order that one may get the maximum available power out of the coal. One finds that the greatest power developments in America are along the great routes of cold water—the Great Lakes and the great rivers. And so, although this is an inadequate discussion as to detail, we have to conclude that Russia, as a source of usable minerals and power for industry, is not in a very favorable position. The sources of iron and coal are not to each other as in our Great Lakes region, Pennsylvania, and Alabama. They do not have, as we do, the billions of cubic feet of extremely cold water for the development of power. These are the real reasons for the extreme discrepancies in the development of minerals, metals and power. They may already have reached their limit of development. It does not necessarily follow that because one very much wants to multiply his power, supplies, and material, that it can be done. We think it

not at all improbable that the slave labor of Russian people has already been exploited beyond the safe limit for the development of natural resources and the building of a transportation system.

Our brief discussion of Russia indicates that it is not now a serious competitor as a formidable industrial country. We hear so often, however, of what they will have accomplished by 1960 that we need to study the peoples to determine if possible whether they can become a great modern industrial nation such as America, by 1960 or ever.

RUSSIANS

The people whom we call Russians are principally slavic peoples. Some of them, however, are pure Mongolian and some pure germanic, but in the main, they are slavic. There are probably as many strains of the latter peoples as of germanic peoples. We know full well the differences in the qualities, physical and otherwise, of the various germanic peoples. There are Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Saxons, Prussians, Bavarians, Wurtenburgers, Swiss, Palatinates, Austrians, Czech-germans, and perhaps more. The difference between the Swedish-germanic peoples and Swiss-germanic people is sufficient to require no comment; they are both germanic and they can be so different, as these people are. Norwegian-germanics and Prussian-germanics are sufficiently different that they require no discussion. Saxon-germanics and Bavarian-germanics are sufficiently different that they require no discussion.

Now as to Russian slavic peoples, we of course do not know their origin any more than we know the origin of the germanic peoples. It is sufficient to say that they do not have any very ancient history; there is no record that either the Greeks or Romans ever came into contact with them in pre-Christian times. Even a half-dozen centuries after the Christian Era began, the Romans had still not encountered them sufficiently to warrant writing about them. And so we do not know anything about them until the year of 860 A.D., when there begins their first significant period. We are going to divide this discussion into the six or seven periods through which their history has passed since that fateful year.

At that time there were isolated clan or village groups here and there over what we call Russia, raising horses and sheep, living in teh vast birch forests, and having relatively little contact and no apparent interest in each other They were not a nation in any sense.

In approximately 860 A.D. there was a minor invasion of what we call Russia by germanic peoples from the Scandinavian peninsula. There was a sort of general exodus from what we now call Norway, with some going to northern France, some to the British Isles, some to Iceland, and some went up the Baltic to land in the region of Leningrad, formerly called St. Petersburg. We do not know how many there were, but it must have been a formidable band of several hundred because they moved inland to the present town of Novgorod and simply took over. They had had some contact with the people on the coast. These people had come from the clan of Rus, in Norway and were a vigorous group. In the group were three brothers of vigorous parentage, the eldest of whom named Rurik was chosen to be the leader. For some eight hundred years the descendants of this Rurik constituted the reigning house of Russia. These invading Norwegians gave to the people, whom they took over in the region of Novgorod, their own clan name, that is, Russians. Thus we see that the very name of these slavic peoples is germanic. And for a period of eight hundred years, that is, 860 to 1598 when the last of the line of Ruriks died, the ruling dynasty was germanic.

We have already mentioned that prior to 862 A.D. there was no cohesion between the village groups scattered over the face of Russia. How many people there were, we do not know, but they simply did not count. They had little or no contact with the West, the East, or the South. They needed none and apparently had not been compelled to band together for protection; they did not constitute a nation. But for four hundred years following the invasion of the Norsemen they underwent a welding-together process, with the establishment or development of the present towns of Moscow and Kiev (which is also a germanic name), and some slight establishment of commerce down the Dneiper River and along the Black Sea. Thus they became acquainted with the existence of the civilization along the Black Sea and the Bosphorus.

In this period of four hundred years, during which the Norwegians slowly welded the villages together into a general organization that we might call Russia, there was brought up the Dneiper River missionaries of the Greek Christian church who gave to these Russians a written language; this was in about 1000 A.D. It is to be noted that the Russian language is composed of Greek letters with some others added that were probably invented by the missionaries. These missionaries introduced into Russia what we know as the Greek Orthodox Church, as differentiated from the Roman division of the

Christian Church. It was, of course, these priests who began to write the history of Russia as far back as they could reach which was, by tradition, the 862 A.D. when the Norwegians invaded. We can find nothing significant in this period, from 862 A.D. to about 1237 A.D. when another significant period begins, except the naming of these people with a germanic name, the establishment of a germanic dynasty of kings, the slow welding together of isolated villages into something approaching a nation, and the development of a written language by Greek Christian missionaries. But this was the beginning of what we know as Russia.

Mongolian Invasion

The second significant period in the history of Russia was the invasion by the armies of Genghis Khan under one of his most able lieutenants, in 1237 A.D. Those armies moved south, then west, and were sweeping everything before them. There was no such thing as a Russian army, and only slight resistance on the part of the villagers in the path of the conquering Mongols. It must have been particularly easy for the Mongols to take over, for they swept as far west as Warsaw, which they took, down into Silesia, and were at the gates of Vienna when the aging Khan died and the hard-riding messengers coming to the west notified all commanders that they must return to Mongolia for the choice of a new ruler.

All of the armies and leaders returned except Batu, a grandson of Genghis, who was holding forth in Russia and refused to go home. It seems that he expected to be eliminated or that he would not return to the easy life he had in the Russian forest, so he refused to go. All of the Mongolian armies in the south did return. As Mr. Winston Churchill said in his address at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology some months ago, they went back into Mongolia and did not return until *now* (talking of the present invasion of Europe by Russian armies).

The period of this Mongolian invasion lasted for two hundred and fifty years, that is, from 1237 until it was finally broken in 1480 A.D. It must not be supposed, however, that when the grip of the Mongols was lifted their influence would vanish; it has not yet vanished. Their contributions were such that they have lasted. First of all, it was true that not much discipline was imposed by the original germanic conquerors, probably because it could not be done and, likewise, they were not much interested. They did not establish

any army that was capable of much resistance. But under the Mongols, discipline was a fine practice. Obedience in the Mongolian army was absolutely necessary; disobedience was punished by death. So for some two hundred and fifty years the discipline imposed by the Mongols on the Russian peoples was extreme; they learned discipline rapidly and well. The Mongols did not depose the Rurik family. They were not interested in doing this, but they did establish their own systems of government and welded what we know as Russia, with that vast area in Asia reaching to the Pacific Ocean and south to the Indian Ocean. Thus they established in Russia their own postroads leading clear to the Pacific, their money system, their rigid discipline and to a considerable degree their mode of dress. Two hundred and fifty years of this is apt to leave effects for a very long time. There was, of course, inter-marriage and inter-breeding, so in central and eastern Russia of today the mongolian characteristics among the inhabitants are always noticeable. Military organizations that the Russians have recently sent into Germany are noticeably Mongolian although they are called Russians. So between 860 A.D. and 1480 A.D., slavic peoples were given a germanic name, a written language, a germanic ruling dynasty, the beginning of a nation, and finally were put under severe discipline and were welded to the East in philosophy, postal systems, money, government and dress.

Ivan Rurik

Between 1480 A.D. and the beginning of the reign of Ivan the Terrible, a Rurik, in 1533 A.D., there was ample time for the change that we see coming about. Prior to 1480 A.D. there was practically no connection with what we call the West of Europe. Poland was in existence and had an alliance with Sweden, and between 1480 and 1533 there was the beginning of aggression from these two allied powers. It was the job, then, of Ivan Rurik to meet these Western armies, which he did and defeated. He likewise had to deal with Turkey, from the south, which was beginning its aggressions, and he had some formidable wars on his hands. We see in this period the emergence of the philosophy that is essentially Asiatic; it is a philosophy of fatalism in an utter disregard of casualties in war, provided the objective is won. It is always noted how callous the Russian leaders are about the loss of their troops. Their one objective is to win. In the past war the Russian leaders seemed to fear more the reprisals from their home government for their failure to take

the offensive than the terrific casualties they were suffering. So it is not surprising that under Ivan the casualties in warfare were so terrific that on the conclusion of these wars he had so depleted the manpower of Russia that there was not sufficient left for farming. A system of contracts then came into effect, whereby peasants contracted with landowners for a year of labor; under circumstances with which we are familiar, these contracts were automatically extended for a second year by governmental decree when circumstances warranted. Here was the beginning of serfdom. So in this period from 1533 to 1598, when the Rurik line ends, we see a beginning of wars with the west and south. These were the first of such wars and the beginning of a land-slave system which did not end until the time of our own Civil War.

The Romanovs

The first slav leader, Michael Romanov, son of Feodure Romanov, was chosen in 1613; the last of them, Nicholas II, was assassinated in 1917 by the present Communist group. There were three hundred years of the Romanovs.

Perhaps we may label this the fourth period in Russian history. The period between 1613, when Michael Romanov was selected, to 1796 when Catherine II, called the Great, died. First of all, the period from 1630 to 1676, under Michael and his son Alexander, was the beginning of the alliance of the church and state, largely because of the influence of the father, Feodore. It was also a time of progress, and is commonly regarded as a prosperous period. This is followed by the period of 1676 to 1725, a period of fifty years under the very unusual man, Peter the Great. It was he who saw the desperate need of Russia for the things that had long been common in Western Europe. He travelled extensively over Western Europe, observing the German army, shipbuilding in Holland, the development of the sciences and the arts in France, and the development of industry in Britain. He took back with him as many artists, scientists and craftsmen, as he could. They made a veritable hodge-podge all over Russia, much of which is still in evidence; it does not belong in that region either as to climate or to the people. Peter waged a successful war against the youthful Charles XII of Sweden and established Russia on the Baltic. Then he defeated the Turks in the Crimea establishing Russia in Azov, on the Sea of Azov. He also built the city of St. Petersburg in what had hitherto been swamps. He went a long way

towards building the modern Russia. He banished the prevailing long beards and the clumsy oriental robes.

The last thirty-four years of this period is occupied by Catherine the Great. She was a German. Under her the nobility and land-owners were emancipated from compulsory military service. In giving away vast areas of public or state owned lands to favorites, she gave away free peasants with the land to the end that when she was through some four million additional peasants had been made into serfs. So under Ivan Rurik, in the previous period, and Catherine the German, in this period, the ordinary Russian became a slave. They had first been taken over and dominated by germanic Norsemen, then by Mongolians from Asia, and now they were made into slaves by their own rulers. But as to the sciences, industries, arts, nothing significant seems to have even started as yet and the capacity of these people for such had not been tested. The capacity of the people of northern, eastern, and southern Europe had long been tested; they had demonstrated what they could do by their actual achievements. There are as yet no indications from Russia of what they might do in the future.

To be continued.

PURNACHANDRA MUKHERJEE

A PIONEER BENGALI ARCHAEOLOGIST

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It is very little known that the career and achievements of Purnachandra Mukherjee constitute an epoch in the history of archaeological investigations in India in the closing decades of the 19th century. His archaeological insight not only added to the historical and antiquarian records in our country but also gave an impetus to the 19th century cultural regeneration of the Indians.

It is a strange coincidence that P. C. Mukherjee was born in an age which could reckon with such archaeological geniuses as Thomson, Schliemann, Sven Hedin, Sarat Das and Cunningham. So his archaeological talent might be to some extent obvious, not an accident, as he might have been strongly influenced by an overbearing antiquarian interest. This is revealed by his personal writings and memoirs.

Although P. C. Mukherjee did not shine too brilliantly during his careers as a student at Āgarpārā Christian Missionary School, Sodepur School and the Canning College, Lucknow, he exhibited his outstanding ability in later stages of his life by making some great discoveries, which were, unfortunately, not properly advertised. When he went to Lucknow in 1869 to join his F.A. classes he was at once fascinated by the art and architecture of the old city. The grandeur of the old remains of the city inspired him to write a book (published in 1883) of about 290 pages (accompanied by many of his personal drawings) named "Pictorial Lucknow, History, People and Architecture". In the Preface of that book he had first drawn pointed attention to the great problem of the preservation of the ancient monuments and relics of India. There he wrote, "The time is now come to raise the question which naturally springs from a thinking mind,—is there nothing in the native civilization worth preservation? Has the European civilization become so indispensable to us that we should at once throw away what is national and adopt the other without pausing to consider where are we drifting to? Is the past history of Oudh so despicable an affair, that no lessons can we derive, therefrom, for our future guidance? Is there nothing in the dying

local arts, especially architecture which requires enquiring into, and which deserves encouragement?" During his old age, he himself explained the reason of his writing the book on Lucknow in a letter to the late educationist and publicist, Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, "....My attention was rivetted by the Badshahi throne of Lucknow. Because I marked there that the art of our country was heading towards complete decay; even most of the buildings were suffering from gradual dilapidation. So I wrote 'Pictorial Lucknow, History, People and Architecture.'* This book on Lucknow is extremely valuable from many points of view. The book not only reveals the ancient and mediaeval glories of the city, but also offers interesting glimpses into the cultural history of Oudh.

In 1882, P. C. Mukherjee was appointed Government Archaeologist. Since that time he carried on extensive work on Indian Archaeology. The report which he submitted to the Government of India on the 3rd August, 1899, on his excavations in Nepalese Tarāi, was highly appreciated by many Indian and European scholars.[1] He also showed his archaeological talents by his successful excavations at the sites of ancient Pāṭaliputra in 1895 and 1896-97[2] although he was several times hampered in his works by the ill-prejudiced attempts of Dr. Fuhrer to oust him from his service and position. There is little doubt to-day that if Sjt. Mukherjee had not been entrusted with the archaeologist's shovel at Pātnā in the latter part of the 19th century, India as also the whole world could have been little aware about the grandeur of the illustrious Mauryyas and their imperial successors who were responsible for one of the magnificent phases of Indian culture, nay Asian civilization.

As a collector of antiquities the name of Purnachandra Mukherjee will be ever remembered with gratitude by the Indian iconographists and the numismatists. In about 1888, he sent a large number of ancient and mediaeval coins to the Indian Museum at Calcutta (Imperial Museum at that time) which had been first examined and identified by Dr. Hoernle. The hoard comprised 506 specimens, which belonged to 20 different classes. In 1885-86 the Lieutenant Governor of N.W.P. & Oudh (modern U.P.) honoured him by conveying personal thanks for his large contributions of sculptures, prehistoric stone implements and fossils to the Lucknow Museum.

* 'Banger Bāhire Bāngāli' by Jnanendra Mohan Das, pp. 354-58.

1 Report of the Archaeological Survey, N.W.P. & Oudh, 1899-1900, p. 1.

2 Report on the Excavations of the Ancient sites of Pāṭaliputra (Patna-Bankipore), 1896-97.

In 1907 he collected quite a large number of antiquities from the ancient site of Kauśāmbi near Allahabad.

Purnachandra Mukherjee also acquired great reputation because of his valuable services in connection with the Public Works Department. The conservation works which he carried on, on the temple of Konārak[1] and other important ancient edifices in Bundelkhand and the Nepalese Tarāi had been highly appreciated by the then Government of India. In 1886 he personally designed Jhānsi High School in imitation of the famous royal palace of the Bundelkhand rulers. In this connection, W. G. Bligh, Executive Engineer, remarked about him in a letter sent to G. L. Lang, who was also later on Commissioner of Jhānsi, in 1889, ".....The Babu has designed Jhansi High School, which is one of the handsomest architectural designs I have ever seen. I have a very high opinion of Babu Poorno Chunder Mukherji's qualifications as a designer of ornamental façades....."[2] About him he also remarked in another letter sent to Mr. Lang : "I consider his services to be most valuable to the department.....a person of such qualifications is very much needed in the Department of which few, if any, officers possess even a faint glimmer of architectural science, as may be proved by the hideous buildings hitherto erected in these provinces." P. C. Mukherji died in 1908 (Bengali era 1310, 18th Srāvana). By his death India no doubt lost one of her most illustrious sons who dedicated their lives to the increase of her glory and status among the nations of the world. By the archaeological endeavours of his whole life he greatly contributed to the cultural re-awakening of India in the 19th and in the 20th centuries. His life itself provided a categorical answer to the question whether an Indian could prove himself a worthy archaeologist in its scientific sense equal to many of the European archaeologists. He accepted the challenge which Dr. Fuhrer threw during his Patna excavations and convinced him that given right opportunities India could also produce the right type of archaeologists.

The late Purna Chandra Mukherji it appears had an instinctive eye for old antiquities and in course of his service to archaeology he had made a small collection of some valuable objects of antiquarian interest at his ancestral home at Pānihāti. Very recently, this useful collection of his collection has been kindly made over to the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University by Sri Prafulla Kumar Mukherji and Sri Probodh Kumar Mukherji, two grand-sons of the late

[1] This he did in 1893. See 'Orissa and her Remains' by Mr. Ganguli, p. 441.
[2] No. 1457, dated 15th June, 1889.

archaeologist. This valuable gift consists of about sixty-three different items including stone-sculptures, terracottas and paintings, the dates of which roughly vary between 2nd century A.D. and 18th century A.D. The stone-sculptures in the Collection were picked up from various parts of Northern India, places which the archaeologist chanced to frequent. Among these there is a massive stone-head from Mathurā in grey sand-stone, probably that of a Bodhisattva datable from the 2nd century A.D. Another red sand-stone head also, from Mathurā of about 4th century A.D. may be mentioned along with the Bodhisattva-head as an antiquity of rare value. A panel showing four standing figures, apparently Bodhisattvas, also, from Mathurā belongs to this group. Rare iconographical peculiarities can be traced in more than one of the stone figures about which mention may be made of a small black stone-slab showing three Mātrikās dated about 8th century A.D. and attributed to Bihār. The other stone ántiquities include figures of Viṣṇu, Navagraha, Buddha, Umā-Maheśvara, votive stupas, architectural mouldings and the like. Besides the stone-antiquities, there are several Rājput-paintings of the 18th-19th centuries and a number of coins.

Their study will surely illuminate some of the dark recesses of the cultural and political history of ancient India. Further, an intensive study of his collections will help us in realising the earnest endeavour, zeal and far-sighted vision of the late Purnachandra Mukherji, undoubtedly one of the great pioneer archaeologists of India.

WHAT STRIKES ME IN MY STUDY OF SOME OF THE CHARACTERS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

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Years ago, when I read MacCullum's 'Shakespeare's Roman plays and their background', certain observations in that excellent commentary set me thinking. Mac Cullum writes :[1]

'Feeling for his country, feeling for his caste, feeling for his family form the triple background of Coriolanus' greatness.....

'But he misplaces the order in which they should come..... He loves Rome indeed,....but he loves the nobility more,....he loves his family as himself and though he strives to root out its claims from his heart, the attempt is vain..... The home-instincts must triumph.

'It is well that they should..... But all the same we feel that his self-surrender to the obligation of the family is a less noble thing than his mother's self-surrender to the obligation of the state.'

Yes, I thought, Mac Cullum is of the West ; with his traditional culture it is but natural that he should feel like this. But what would an Indian think of the sacrifice of Coriolanus ? Well, let there be no misunderstanding. Whatever the provocation given by the ungrateful plebs, led by the scheming tribunes, Coriolanus did a grievous wrong in joining the enemy of his country and leading an army of foreigners to the gates of the city of his birth. When the Tribunes called him 'a traitor' and an 'enemy to his country', he was certainly none. Yet however much he might fume and fret, Aufidius was perfectly justified when *he* branded him a 'traitor', for a traitor Coriolanus had by now proved himself to be—to his own country in fighting against her and to the country he had chosen to serve to feed his vengeance, by forgiving her enemy, Rome at a time when she was entirely without defence. So much must be admitted. But the question is : Would Coriolanus sink lower or rise higher in our estimation from the fact that while he could disregard the claims of the country, he succumbed before the solicitations of the mother ? With his words ringing in our ears :

O mother, mother !
What have you done ? Behold, the heavens do ope,

[1] Shakespeare's Roman plays and their background, pp. 548 and 605-06.

The gods look down, and this unnatural scene
They laugh at. O my mother, mother ! O !
You have won a happy victory to Rome ;
But, for your son,—believe it, O believe it,
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd
If not most mortal to him.

Coriolanus : Act V Sc. III

—Yes, with such noble words ringing in our ears, would we be prone to think that the 'self-surrender' of the devoted son to his mother is 'a less thing than his mother's self-surrender to the obligation of the state' ?

I remember a poem by one of our pets of Bengal : A young man had renounced the world. He began a severe penance to attain the deity he worshipped. Then came his trial. Tempest raged and lightnings rent the sky in the dark dead of night. Flashes of lightning lit up the lurid shapes of demoniac beings all eager to devour the lonely devotee. But he was unmoved.

The scene changed. The terrors of the elements and of the infernal harpies ceased to be. And instead, gales of spring played round him and fanned his clustering locks, flowers of many colours bloomed and spread fragrance to the dallying wind, and a beautiful nymph, fairer than flower, fairer far than anything that mortal eyes have ever looked upon, stood before the youthful ascetic. But he heeded not. And now when the nymph vanished into nothingness, he heard his long-lost mother calling unto him in sweet and tender voice. The voice sent a thrill through his body and soul and the young ascetic, whom terrors could not frighten nor beauty lure, rose up like a child eager to jump to the embrace of the mother who calls unto it. And, lo, a cruel laughter, the laughter of the deity who had deluded him, mocked his eager soul. He was lost. His penance went for nothing. In despair he sought to end his life drowning himself in the stream that flowed by. And when he was neck-deep in water, he heard the voice of God above. The voice said unto him : 'Despair not, my son, for in losing thy deity, thou hast found me.'

Yes, that's what an Indian feels like. 'Mother before all'—is the background of India's traditional culture. Coriolanus, to our Indian eyes, is redeemed by his noble self-surrender to his mother, and if, in consequence, he dies, his death, if it is an expiation for his sin, is also the gate-way to an eternal life of glory.

Let us take another character, again from one of the Roman plays. Brutus failed, for he mistook the vocation of his life. He

was a scholar and the library was his proper world. But he was misled into thinking that his country called him. He left the scholar's retreat and by innate strength of character became the leader of the Republican party. And now by a series of blunders, so natural in an honest amateur in politics, he precipitated his own ruin and the ruin of the party he undertook to serve. Yes, that's the more palpable part of the tragedy in the life of Brutus. But is that everything? Or is that even the worst part of the tragedy? Supposing he had proved himself a successful leader and his cause had thrived, would that have saved him from the *moral* injury he had done to himself by proving a traitor to one who had been his loving friend? Brutus confesses that before he took the first fatal step, the kingdom of his mind suffered 'the nature of an insurrection'. There was the natural abhorrence of conspiracy, there was the supposed call of the country, which, as a Roman and as a descendant of Junus, he could not ignore. But unfortunately it never occurred to him even for a moment that, whatever his duty to his country, he had his obligation also to his friend, even though that friend were the 'serpent's egg', which, to justify his action, Brutus thought him to be. Treachery was bad enough; but treachery towards one who loved him and had faith in his honesty was worse. Brutus, indeed, speaks of killing Caesar 'boldly', but is it bold to have stabbed an unsuspecting friend? Caesar's dying words: *Et tu Brute*? still ring in our memory as a reproach to the unthinkable perfidy of a well-meaning bigot, for a bigot, with all his honesty and humanity, Brutus certainly was. He was obsessed with a sense of duty towards his country. Unlike Coriolanus, he did not 'misplace the order', and it is a pity that he did not. Antony was certainly scoring a party point when, with his characteristic rhetoric, he observed:

> Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
> And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
> Mark how the blood of Caesar follow'd it,
> As rushing out of doors, to be resolved
> If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no:
> For Brutus, as you know, was Caesar's angel.
> Judge, O you gods, how dearly Caesar loved him!
> This was the most unkindest cut of all;
> For when the noble Caesar saw him stab,
> Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
> Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart.
>
> Julius Caesar: Act III Sc II

Yet, all the same, the substantial truth of the allegation is undeniable. Brutus was, indeed, 'Caesar's angel' and so was Caesar unto Brutus, and if Caesar's memory, in the likeness of Caesar's ghost, subsequently plagued him as his 'evil spirit', Brutus had only himself to thank for this unseemly metamorphosis. And when at last Brutus perished on his own sword, if we feel pity for such an end to such a life, we still recognise in it the mysterious hand of Nemesis, who was propitiated only when the sword that proved traitor to a friend, drank the blood of him it was meant to defend.

The same play of Nemesis is discernible in the fate that overtakes Desdemona. It is not without some hesitation that I make this observation, for Desdemona is one of the sweetest and loveliest of Shakespeare's female characters. Her devotion to the lord of her heart, her husband is almost without a parallel. Even when she is cruelly throttled to death, she has not a word of complaint against him. She tells Emilia that she herself 'had done the deed' and her last words are : 'Commend me to my kind lord'. Yet this is but one side of the picture. Desdemona, so tender, so loving and so forgiving, is altogether a different being in her attitude towards her father. She, indeed, speaks of 'a divided duty', she tells how she is bound 'for life and education' to her father and how her 'life and education' teach her how to respect him. But what is the kind of respect she shows him ? Well, it is to steal away from him and seek her happiness with the Moor. When Jessica steals away with Lorenzo, she leaves a shelter that is much like hell (Jessica's words : 'Our house is hell'—Merchant of Venice ; Act II Sc III). But Desdemona has no such excuse. For all that we know, her father loves her. Even when she has left his shelter, he says of her that she is

> A maiden never bold ;
> Of spirit so still and quiet, that her motion
> Blush'd at herself.
>
> Othello : Act I Sc III

In fact, he has such faith in her that he believes that Othello could not have worked upon her except by witchcraft. In defence of Desdemona it may be urged—in fact, this is the truth behind her action—that she knew that her patrician father would not consent to her marriage with a Moor, even though he were the 'valiant Othello' ; she, therefore, sought her happiness inspite of her father. But this cannot blind us to the fact that she betrays the trust her father has reposed in her. It is no good speculating, as some critics do, that,

had she lived, she might effect a happy compromise between two duties : duty towards husband and duty towards father, for, as we see her, she seems to have little compunction for her father when he is mad with rage and grief. And her punishment is almost dramatic. The deception that she plays upon her father is urged by Iago as a proof that she might as well deceive her husband ; and the unkindest cut of all, she receives her death at the hand of him for whose sake she forsakes her father.

In like manner there is a grim sort of justice (not, of course, poetic justice ; there is nothing like poetic justice in Shakespeare, or for that matter, in life which Shakespeare's dramas mirror) in the fate that overtakes Cordelia. Cordelia's 'etherial purity of love and self-sacrifice' is unquestionable. Yet she inherits something of her father's obstinacy, which, combining with the still greater obstinacy and blind impulsiveness of her father, hurls them into common ruin. She sees through the game her sisters are playing, she has her misgivings as to how they would behave towards their father in her absence now that he has surrendered himself to them. In fact, she tells them straight :

> Love well our father :
> To your professed bosoms I commit him :
> But yet, alas, stood I within his grace,
> I would prefer him to a better place.
>
> King Lear : Act I, Sc I.

Why, we are tempted to ask,—O you sweet maid —if you knew as much, why did not you see that you stood 'within his grace', at least for your father's sake ? If your sisters made insincere protestations of love, why did not you, in all fairness to yourself and your decrepit father, tell him how deeply you *really* loved him ? You held the key that might save the situation, yet not even for your father would you use it. It was no mere unworldliness—unworldliness is pardonable enough—it was a wilful obstinacy begotten of a sense of superior virtue and contempt alike for the levity of the hypocritical sisters and the whimsicalities of an imbecile father which held her back. And she paid for it with her life.

Yet when we speak of her folly, be it remembered that we love her not inspite of her folly, but, strangely enough, even on account of it. How her reticence shines forth against the background of the extravagances of her unsisterly sisters !

Unlike Desdemona, Cordelia is not faced with 'a divided duty' ; but Ophelia is, and she reacts differently. Ophelia lacks Desdemona's

depth of feeling. A Desdemona or a Cordelia might have been helpful to Hamlet in his hour of trial, but Ophelia is not. She rather chooses not to be. Like a doll, she plays in the hand of her too worldly-wise father and betrays her love. And she atones for her sin in death.[1] Mark the irony. Both Brabantio and Polonius err: the one in thinking that his daughter is much above the Moor, the other in thinking that Hamlet is much above his daughter. Both disregard the claims of love with the result that both Desdemona and Ophelia practise deception: the one on the father for the sake of the lover, the other on the lover for the sake of and at the dictates of the father. The one is plagued with the curses of a mortified father, the other is plagued with the curses of despised Love.

Now that we are on the subject of 'divided duty', I am reminded of two other characters—heroines of comedies this time: Rosalind[2] and Portia. Banished by her uncle, Rosalind repairs to the forest of Arden with the avowed intention of living there under the shelter of her father, the banished Duke. There in boy's guise she meets Orlands and her plan changes. For a sprightly girl like Rosalind to seize upon this opportunity for romance is natural, it is almost inevitable; and none but a stern moralist with an almost morbid sense of right and wrong would blame her for acting as she does, the more so as, without being recognised by her father, she might yet meet him and talk with him. (Cf. her words to Celia: 'I met the Duke yesterday' etc. As you like it: Act III Sc V). Yet when talking about the father, she suddenly cuts short with the blunt observation: 'But what talk we of fathers, when there is—such a man as Orlando'? —I confess it comes to me as a shock. But it is a momentary feeling, or I soon reflect that youth is so easily swept off the balance when it is lover versus father, and it is for fathers to ignore such follies of youth with an indulgent smile, as the banished Duke, who is himself a philosopher, would certainly have done, if he had overheard the

[1] Ophelia's madness, which eventually ends in death is directly caused by grief at her father's death. But her rejection of Hamlet, which is thought to have turned him mad, must also have silently worked upon her. Cf. her words:

> I, of ladies most dejected and wretched,
> That suck'd the honey of his music vows,
> Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
> Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh;
> That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth
> Blasted with ecstasy: O, woe is me
> To have seen what I have seen, see what I see.
>
> Hamlet Act III Sc I.

It is thus that outraged nature takes her terrible revenge.

[2] Strictly speaking Rosalind does not fall within this category, for she is never faced with a crisis like the others. Yet I include her for the simple reason that her romances with her lover make her more or less forgetful of her father.

remark. In fact, it would be doing an injustice to Rosalind to take her words too seriously, for, after all, she is in a sportive mood and speaks to one (her cousin Celia) who, she knows, will not be too critical.

Portia is of a different type. She is no less sprightly and no less fond of romance. But if Rosalind forgets her father for the love of romance, if Desdemona leaves her father to seek her felicities, Portia risks everything to respect the whims of a capricious father who is dead. She says : 'If I live as old as Sibylla, I will die as chaste as Diana, unless I be chosen by the manner of my father's will.' (The Merchant of Venice : Act I Sc II). Good. But what is the situation she drags herself to ? She loves Bassanio. We have Bassanio's words to Antonio that he has received 'speechless messages' from her. But even if we dismiss his words as unreliable in the circumstances in which they are spoken, we have Portia's own admission to Nerissa that he is 'worthy of praise' and, above all, we have her confessions of love immediately before he proceeds to choose. Such love as her words breathe forth could not have been evoked by a mere acquaintance of a day or two. Yes, she must have loved him for long ever since he came to Belmont in her father's life time. How, then, could she take the risk of Morocco or Arragon taking their chance at the lottery of the caskets ? Nerissa, indeed, believes that her father acted under inspiration and that the casket could not be chosen rightly except by one 'who shall rightly love.' But these are words of faith that do not bear examination. For all that we know, Morocco or Arragon might choose rightly and then Portia's bridal bed would have been a mockery. For she would be false to the lord of her heart and false to him she would be compelled to wed. How could she, how could a girl with a bit of commonsense—and Portia is gifted with more than average share of commonsense—invite the risk of such a position for herself ? I confess, in this respect the character is a riddle to me, though, judging by the result, I am rather tempted to think that it is not luck, but the blessings of her departed father that must have saved her from an anomalous position.

Viola is another illustration of how selfless devotion to duty brings its own reward. Like Desdemona and Portia, she too has trials, though the problem before her is of an entirely different nature. Her boy's disguise places her in an awkward and trying situation. She has her duty towards the Duke, her master who has given her shelter and her duty bids her woo Olivia on his behalf. Yet she loves the Duke as deep as a woman may love. In this crisis, it is love shows her the way, she chooses to forget herself and her felicities to make

her beloved happy. She plays her delicate part without flinching, she bears her agonies patiently like a woman, though she feels them like a woman too. In a veiled way, it is herself she describes when of her supposed sister she says :

> She never told her love,
> But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
> Feed on her damask cheek : she pined in thought,
> And with a green and yellow melancholy
> She sat like Patience on a monument
> Smiling at grief.
>
> Twelfth Night : Act II Sc IV.

Yes, though grief might corrode her, the long-suffering Viola knows how to smile at grief. And heaven eventually unravels the tangled thread of events and her constancy is rewarded : Viola becomes her 'master's mistress.' As we contemplate her character, we feel that, inspite of alien garb and alien accents, our own *Suryamukhi* would recognise her as a kindred spirit, if ever they meet.

The characters I have chosen are all gifted with noble virtues. A few are happy, others are terribly unhappy. Coriolanus is ignominously murdered by one, who, in open combat, proved no match for him. Brutus perishes on his own sword. Desdemona and Cordelia are savagely slaughtered. Ophelia dies in madness from broken heart. When we contemplate their fate, we are seized with awe. Why, we ask ourselves, is Coriolanus set amidst the plebs who do not understand him and to whose level his greatness forbids him to stoop. Why is Brutus brought in touch with Cassius in a Rome where the Romans have lost their ancient mettle ? Why is Desdemona cast in a world where there is Iago, or Cordelia made sister to Goneril and Regan, or Ophelia daughter to Polonius, who is too worldly-wise to understand love ? Such questions are, indeed, a part of the eternal mystery of human life and destiny. Yet, if it is a pity that these ill-fated souls are planted in an uncongenial soil, it is no less true that there is something inherent in their nature—a sort of weakness—which invites their ruin. However terrible their destiny, it is not causeless. The impression that the dramas of Shakespeare leave is that there is a moral government of the universe. The Supreme Power is not a capricious deity. He is just, perhaps sometimes too terribly just to his creatures.

Round the World

Britain and Colour Bar

The attitude of the British Labour Government in regard to colour bar has been brought out into relief in the case of Seretse Khama, a tribal chief of Bechuanaland. His offence was the marriage he contracted with a white girl, while a student in England. His people were evidently not alienated by this unorthodox marriage. But the susceptibilities of South Africa were wounded. As it is common knowledge, this country is now committed to a rigid and hideous form of colour bar and has banned all mixed marriages as derogatory to white interests and prestige. We do not know if South African Government made any representation to the British authorities regarding the case of Seretse Khama. Possibly it was not necessary. The Labour Government, as it will be clear at a later stage of this paragraph, is without such prodding willing to champion white supremacy and all that it implies. Khama was enticed to England and once there he was told that for five years he would not be allowed to go back to his country and tribe, although his wife was in Bechuanaland in an interesting condition. The object is clear. First, he would be punished by this exile for his crime of marrying a white girl. Secondly, he would be not only separated from his wife but deprived of his chieftainship. There can be no gainsaying the fact that both the purpose and procedure of enticing Khama to England were mean and unworthy of a civilised government. Fortunately, some forty back-benchers in the House of Commons had still in them some liberalism and they protested against this exile of the Chief. The Labour Government, however anxious it may be to please South Africa and to punish mixing of races, is also anxious to keep itself in power. In its present position in the House of Commons it cannot create dissensions in its own ranks. So it partly swallowed the bitter pill and made the concession of allowing Khama to return temporarily to his tribe. Possibly, another revolt of these back-benchers would be required to make Khama's stay among his own people permanent and to restore him to his chieftainship.

Khama's case does not illustrate any isolated residing of British Labour from its old ideal of equality between races. In the dispute between South Africa and India in regard to the inhuman treatment of Indian settlers in the former country, the representatives of the British Labour Government have invariably sided on the platform of the U.N.O. with the South African delegate against Mrs. Pandit and her colleagues. When again Rev. Michael Scott approached the U.N.O. for permission to speak on its platform against

the treatment of the Hereros by the South African Government, the prayer was opposed vehemently and violently by the British Labour Government's delegate. When again the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O. asked for reports from the British Government as to its administration (in the capacity of a mandatory) of Tanganyka, the Labour Cabinet refused to comply with the request. It would not take proper steps to remove illiteracy among the people and encourage the cultivation of their own languages. But lest these matters should become subject of criticism in the Trusteeship Committee no materials were supplied to it. The Labour Government in England is, so far as the treatment of the coloured races is concerned, appears to be out-heroding Herod. It seems it is trying to prove to the electorate that the interests of British imperialism and white supremacy are safe in its hands.

Spanish Morocco

A writer in the New Statesman and Nation gave sometime ago his impressions of Spanish rule in Morocco. He summed it up in one sentence : "Franco's rule in Morocco is a combination of Inquisition tactics and Gestapo techniques." "I entered the area by the road from Tangier. At the Spanish Zone frontier all travellers, men and women alike, are searched in tiny rooms built for the purpose. Foreigners are treated politely but Arabs are stripped, and a Moroccan political leader, now exiled from his home, told me how once he was not only stripped naked but had his shoes slashed to pieces." The Spanish have their own methods of dealing with recalcitrant Moroccans. They may be exiled and compelled to live either in Tangier or in Cairo. While in exile they cannot get any remittances of money from home. Sometimes, however, instead of being exiled these suspected Moroccans may have their property or business or that of their families confiscated and their life made economically unbearable. In one of the towns the writer found that young men had no jobs and the lands brought no revenue as crops usually failed for want of irrigation. Some of the men were in exile, some were in prison and some had been so beaten and tortured by the police that they could not any longer work. He also saw a youngman who during the demonstrations in 1947 was taken by the police for questioning. When he returned home, he had lost his memory and never recovered it. Whenever any house is searched by the police—houses are usually searched in case the secret police gets information as to a plot—it may be taken for granted that it would be a violent affair. Property would be destroyed and loot carried away. One of the worst features of Spanish rule in Morocco is the immigration of Spaniards into that country. Most of them are poor scamps who live mostly in towns. In Tetuan for instance out of a population of eighty-five thousand, as many as thirty-five thousand are Spanish. They are now monopolising all jobs. Even beggars

have come from across the water. "As I sat in a cafe in the main street, a little ragged boy came to beg. He was a Spaniard. A Moroccan friend remarked bitterly, 'You see they even send beggars to compete with ours. We have not been left our poverty.' "

Demand for Land Reform

In the course of budget debates in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, fresh demand was made by some for land reform. It was pointed out that without the abolition of the zamindary system necessary conditions would not be created for greater agricultural production. No argument is more untenable than this oft repeated slogan. As a result of the periodic tenancy legislations, land in this province now happens to belong to the tenants subject only to the payment of a small rent to the zamindars who were formerly the proprietors of the estates. Once the rent is paid the zamindars have no control over the utilisation of the land. That is decided upon by the tenant. In view of this fact there is no sense in fixing responsibility upon the zamindars for small production.

Complete abolition of the zamindary system will again involve the payment of a compensation to the present zamindars. That will amount to thirty or forty crores. It will be unwise for the Government to accept this liability at this hour of financial stringency. The system of payment adopted in U.P. may, of course, be pointed to as an example. There a tenant who pays ten years' rent at a time becomes the full proprietor of the land subject only to the payment of rent to the Government, which for a number of years may be less than the present rent. But even the tenants in U.P. have not been exactly reconciled to this arrangement. Many of them have not yet felt agreeable to the payment of ten years' rent in one instalment for the luxury of calling themselves proprietors instead of tenants. For, they know that their present position as tenants is not inferior to what it would be if they become proprietors. Here also it may be taken for granted that the tenants would not like to substitute proprietorship for tenancy if they have to pay ten years' rent in a single instalment instead of paying it from year to year as they do now.

Production is not up to the level for other reasons. First and foremost of them is that land is cultivated and sown in the traditional way. Very little attempt at reform of any kind is made. This habit may be broken possibly by the establishment of model farms by the Government not in one place in a district but in every Union of the Province. Secondly, there is the great fragmentation of holdings. Attempts should be made to rectify this state of things. Thirdly, there is the poor relationship between the tenants (real owners) and their workers or *bargadars*. In fact both ideas and will have been lacking in making land more fruitful than it happens

to be. In their absence no tenancy legislation or abolition of the zamindary system will make for agricultural progress.

Late Professor Laski

Recent death of Professor H. J. Laski has removed from the world of scholarship a great intellectual luminary. Since the first World War he has influenced political thought and academic life in a manner in which few other men have influenced them in modern times. A product of the Modern History School of Oxford, he served for a few years as a Lecturer in the Universities of McGill and Harvard. Later, he transferred the venue of his academic activities to England where except for a short period he was associated with the London School of Economics first as Reader and then as Professor of Political Science in the University of London.

A man of great erudition and razor-like intellect, he has left behind him many contributions both in the realm of political theory and in the field of constitutional interpretation. He started his academic career as an exponent of the pluralistic theory of sovereignty and the nature of authority in the modern State. These ideas he elaborated in a number of books. The most comprehensive of his publications is, of course, *A Grammar of Politics,* which for the last quarter of a century has been the Text Book of Political Science for advanced students in more countries than one. On governmental and constitutional organisation also his writings have been of considerable merit and value. They have stimulated new vistas of thought and opened new avenues of reform and improvement . His work on Parliamentary Government for instance stimulates new ideas in matters of governmental organisation.

Professor Laski laid the foundation of his knowledge of men and things in the new world during his stay at McGill and Harvard. While there he not only acquainted himself with the history and institutions of the U.S.A. but formed friendships which helped him in understanding this country. Later visits which were not very infrequent replenished his knowledge and confirmed his ideas as to the working of institutions in that great democracy. He has utilised the knowledge and understanding thus acquired in his American Presidency and the American Democracy. The latter book was practically his last publication.

Apart from the scholarly works, many of which will live very long, Professor Laski contributed during his life time innumerable articles to different journals including the New Statesman and Nation. Many of these articles were either pen pictures of men who counted at the time or an analysis of a contemporary situation. These articles were all of them enjoyable writings. One merit which is usually lacking in scholars and which was present in Professor Laski in large measure was an attractive style of writing.

He could analyse very abstruse ideas in a manner understandable to the general reader. It is this lucid attractive style which not only made his books so popular but made his other writings including the reviews of books readable and enjoyable.

India owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Laski. He was for decades an untiring friend of this country and never felt shy either to take the pen or mount the rostrum in the cause of its political freedom. To Indian students who went to Britain for higher education he was a constant friend and hearty well-wisher.

In writing on Professor Laski, we are mourning the death of a great academician, the like of whom the world sees rarely. We may mourn it best by assimilating his ideas and living the untiring energetic life he led.

Refugees should spread over India

H.E. the Governor of West Bengal referred, in course of his address at the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, to the congestion of refugees from East Bengal in and near Calcutta. These refugees have been welcomed to the Indian Union with open arms. But, he pointed out, in their own interests, in the interests of the city of Calcutta and finally in the interests of Indian nationalism they should not yield to their first impulse of settling in Calcutta and its suburbs and add thereby to the great overcrowding which has already taken place in these localities. In other parts of West Bengal also density of population is already great. There are some areas which may and would accommodate a number of the refugees but there is a limit to such absorption. In view of this a large portion of those coming from East Bengal should agree to proceed to other parts of the country. It is very fortunate that these other parts are not unwilling to receive them if they go over there. In this connection Dr. Katju has referred to a matter which has become all important today. The ugly head of provincialism appears prominent in certain places. But the remedy for this disease is also easy to suggest. More the population becomes mixed in different provinces, the greater becomes the chance of a wider outlook being developed. The refugees should, of course, foster this development of national outlook by behaving properly in the places which will be their new home. It has become the habit of many Bengalees living in other parts of India to regard themselves as exiles. This habit must be discarded. They must change their angle of vision and cease to regard themselves as outsiders. They must identify themselves entirely with the interests of the local population among whose midst they will now find themselves. They must pick up the language of the province where they will settle and establish social relationships with the local people.

Much of this will not come automatically. India is a vast country with hoary traditions—traditions which divide one locality from another. In fact, East Bengal Hindus who are now migrating have likes and dislikes,

prejudices and inhibitions which characterise other groups of people in India as well. Consequently it will not be easy for them to cast off these prejudices and make themselves within short notice agreeable to new people and new environments. It should be remembered that there are many among these people who did not ever stir out of their small localities before. Even West Bengal they will not find very congenial and may regard themselves there as strangers. In view of this fact either before or after they are sent to any other province they should be given some instruction as to the new language they will be required to speak, as to the manners and customs of the people among whom they will be cast and as to the way they should behave themselves.

Those who have studied immigrants in the U.S.A. from Europe, particularly from its South-Eastern regions, are of the view that the first generation always finds it difficult to accommodate to the new surroundings. They learn no doubt after a while to speak broken English but in ideas and outlook remain mostly what they were before immigration. In the second generation, however, adjustment to the conditions of the new country becomes palpable. But touch with old traditions is not altogether lost. In the third generation, however, they become hundred per cent Americans without any trace of influence of the old country. Boys and girls who accompany their parents to the U.S.A. very quickly pick up the English language and manners and customs of the local people. This is due very largely to the influence of the public school which has proved an invaluable unifying factor. In Orissa, C.P., Assam, Bihar, U.P., wherever the refugees may go, the policy should be not to open special Bengalee schools for them but to insist on their admission to the local schools where lessons will be given through the medium of the local language. This will help in the gradual adjustment of the refugees to their new environments.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Communal Unity.—By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 9.

This book contains immortal articles contributed by Mahatmaji to his periodicals "New India" and "Harijan". Their dates vary from 1920 to 1948, the important period during which he dominated Indian politics.

Being an inhabitant of Gujerat and an independent thinker from his boyhood, Mahatmaji knew very well that to achieve independence the first thing was to secure communal unity. Hindus of India lost their independence not because they lacked bravery, education and culture, but because they were divided into innumerable castes and sects, each living in its own watertight compartment, and so lacking sympathy and fellow-feeling. A born leader of men and inwardly inspired, he boldly tackled the problem with the launching of his Non-Co-operation Movement. His Khilafat sympathies were not political eye-wash, but a sincere effort to wield together the two great communities which had lived together in the same country as strangers and yet regarded each other as enemies.

The communal riots which broke out after the Simon Commission, as rightly pointed out by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the Preface, were deliberately provoked by educated Mohammadans to secure equal privileges with Hindus. The spark was supplied, the editor Bharatan Kumarappa points out, by the British, for the purpose of retaining their hold on India.

The main merit of these writings is their notable sincerity. Mahatmaji was not a theorist nor an academician; his whole life has been woven into these articles which embody nothing but truth and, as such, they stand above criticism. These will serve as landmarks in the history of Indian independence. Dr. Rajendra Prasad rightly remarks, "This volume has a tragic significance of its own in that it records in burning words the faith that was in him—a faith that alone can ensure peace, happiness and prosperity of all the inhabitants of this land."

H. C. Mookerjee

Satyagraha in Champaran.—By Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2-4.

This brochure very faithfully records the initial success of Satyagraha based on Ahimsa and Truth. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a faithful follower of Mahatmaji, presents herein a connected story with all necessary background, of that historical struggle which demonstrated before the world that no brute force, however powerful, can successfully cope with that generated in the power house of heart sincerity.

The book is a strorehouse of information as it supplies what may be called valuable data for the study of Gandhism and will explain why British

Rule in India ended abruptly and without the firing of a single shot. The history of the Satyagraha Movement in Champaran is really a page of the history of our independence movement and as such, the value of this book cannot be over-estimated.

J. N. Mitra

Diet & Diet Reform.—By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajiban Press, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.

The editor, Bharatan Kumarappa, remarks that "much research and inquiries have still to be carried on both in laboratories and in home, on matters pertaining to diet". In this book, we find a description of experiments in diet made by Mahatmaji. We advise readers to practise his teachings faithfully and then to realise results for themselves.

M.B.B.

The King and the Corpse.—By Heinrich Zimmer, Edited by Joseph Campbell, The Bollingen Series XI, Pantheon Books, Manufactured in the U.S.A. by H. Wolff, New York, N.Y.

Beautifully printed and bound, the work is more than a version of the famous *Vetalapancavinsati* told in Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* and in Kshemendra's *Brikhatkathamanjari*. For, besides containing an account of the romances of the Arthurian cycle such as the Gawain and the Green Knight, Lancelot, Merlin, etc., it offers also various other eastern tales like Abu Kasem's Slippers and the story of Sati, claimed to be presented for the first time in a European language. This is not, however, strictly speaking, a claim that can be upheld. For many years ago the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen told the legend of Sati in English ; his version was brought out by Messrs. Cambray and Sons, Calcutta.

The legends and tales which appear in the present volume have been treated more from a scholarly than from a popular point of view. An attempt has been made throughout to stress the element of symbolism in them and to bring out their connexion with a moral and spiritual order, which might not appear easy to grasp unless clearly shown in a commentary. But the elaborations to which such an endeavour has led are not introduced with the tact required to maintain the interest of the tales themselves, which seem to have suffered in consequence. If the philosophical and critical comments had been transferred to a separate section, the work would have gained in interest for the average reader.

The book, notwithstanding this drawback, will interest readers who wish to know about eastern ways of thought with the frequent resort to a plain story for establishing edifying spiritual maxims. The book will not fail to forge a new link in the chain of understanding between the East and West, containing as it does much stimulating thought and learned comment upon legends whose beginnings are lost in the mists of antiquity.

Sophocles's Oedipus at Colonus.—Translated into English rhyming verse with introduction and Notes by Gilbert Murray (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), Price 5s.

Speaking of Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides, T. S. Eliot has observed : "It is because Professor Murray has no creative instinct that he leaves Euripides quite dead". This view would sound unnecessarily bitter if we remembered that a translator's main business is that of a populariser. For it is inconceivable that Professor Murray should think of adepts in the classics as the principal audience for whom he undertook his arduous labours as translator. If he occasionally took liberties with the text, it is because it seemed to him that by doing so he would succeed in making the classics more intelligible to a modern reader. For one could hardly accuse him of not knowing what the Greek originals meant. There is no doubt that Murray's translations have introduced thousands to the Greek classics.

The translation of Oedipus at Colonus in rhyming verse may not have recaptured the sublimity and grandeur of the original in the measure in which one could desire out it is easy to read and the poignancy of the blind king's fate in the desolation that descends on him seems to have been brought out in apt verse which, if not remarkable for beauty, has both lucidity and distinction.

Srichandra Sen.

Christian Proselytism in India.—Part I by Manilal C. Parekh. Price Rs. 7-8. Foreign 12s. 6d. or $ 3.

In his Preface, Mr. Parekh a "religious teacher" as he styles himself, thanks Srijut G. D. Birla and friends for financial help in bringing out this book.

It is the outcry of an outraged Hindu against those who enter the Christian fold. In 13 detailed chapters the author ventilates his grievances against missionaries both Roman Catholic and Protestant and asks them to stop snatching adherents from an ancient faith and civilization. Besides various minor issues, he inveighs against missionary education, mass conversion, the Pauline privilege and the destruction of the caste system.

While all sections of Christianity are condemned, the Roman Catholic Church does not come in for as much abuse as the Protestant. To quote the writer (p. 159) "Moreover the Roman Catholic Church has had a much larger history behind it and a varied experience of all sorts of people and communities. Because of this it has a better understanding of social and religious customs and manners of different peoples than the Protestants."

As the book is nothing but a tirade against Christianity, it is of little interest to the man-in-the-street who is more concerned with getting a square meal in Hindusthan than "battles long ago". The style is made

up of wearisome repetitions and some of the arguments are so illogical as to be amusing, *e.g.*, on page 86, we read,

"To prevent such proselytism of its own people is now an essential part of Hinduism... To do this is not to be communal at all, it is anything but that. Rather it prevents the growth of communalism fostered by such imperialistic religions as Islam and Christianity."

If Mr. Parekh's arguments are correct, why do non-Christians flock to Christian educational institutions throughout India even in places where excellent non-Christian or Government schools and colleges exist? And why do we send our youth abroad for higher education I wonder?

Y. Mathias.

Chitra-Charitra—By Shree Pramathanath Bishi. Banga Bharati Granthalaya. 1356. Royal 8vo. pp. 144. Price Rs. 6-8-0.

The author, Shree Pramathanath Bishi, is a writer of repute. His style, though clear and lucid, has depth and is meaningful. In the present work he has accommodated character-sketches of thirty-seven great men and one extraordinary. The latter was foreign born but made this province her home. All of these great personalities were again either born or flourished in the 19th century. When, therefore, a reader gets through the list, he may form a good idea of both the makers and products of the 19th century Renaissance in Bengal.

The plan of the author is to depict the character and achievements of these thirty-eight men and women by bringing out into relief only one or two of their important features. In this mission the author has succeeded in most cases. He starts appropriately with Raja Ram Mohun Roy and ends also very properly with Rabindranath Tagore. In between them are other men, *e.g.*, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Ramtanu Lahiri, Radhakanta Dev, Sivanath Sastri and Surendranath Banerjee. The character and achievements of these leaders were inevitably complex and many-sided. Inspite of this by emphasising only one or two features the author has succeeded in most cases in bringing the whole man before us.

One of the points which the author has emphasised in this work is that all the great Bengalees whose pen-pictures have been drawn here were great Indians. In fact, the discovery of India was their aim and their achievements.

The book is not only good to read but instructive in more than one way. It makes a valuable addition to the treasury of Bengali language and literature.

Nareshchandra Roy.

Ourselves

H. E. The Chancellor at the University Students' Union

In opening the annual social organised by the Union of Post-Graduate Students of the University in the Senate Hall on 29th April, H. E. Dr. Katju touched upon some of the basic problems of student life in Calcutta. He referred to the need of greater cooperation between students and teachers. In order that education might become more fruitful and better regulated, it was essential that closer touch between the teacher and the taught should be brought about. This can be done by making the classes smaller, by organising seminar classes and by bringing teachers and students together in small batches in extra-academic activities. At present much of the contact is formal. Even social gatherings in which teachers and students meet are so big and formal an affair as to make this contact distant and even unreal. Sometimes indeed there are smaller gatherings as well. But there also the programme is so elaborate and so formal as to make free mixing difficult and exchange of ideas impossible. We have to think over more deeply than we have done so far regarding this social side of student life in Calcutta. As for the smaller classes and seminar classes which will ensure greater personal contact between teachers and the taught, the University authorities are, we understand, contemplating changes in the existing arrangements.

Dr. Katju also touched upon the question of physical fitness of the students. He had recently been to Amritsar and was face to face with students of the Punjab whose physical fitness should be an example to the students of Calcutta. It was not enough to cultivate the mind. It was equally necessary to cultivate the physique. In fact without the latter the former also cannot be catered too adequately. We hope the advice of the Chancellor will be taken seriously by the students and they will pay greater attention to physical exercises than they have hitherto done. To devote every day some specified amount of time to such exercises requires a steadiness of purpose which most of us happen to lack. That is the main reason of our indifference to them. Opportunities are not lacking. But comparatively a small proportion of students takes advantage of the services of the Physical Instructors.

The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, presided over the function. He pointed out that the province was passing through a period of crisis and every one ought to contribute to the solution of the many problems which confronted us.

Legal Conference at the University

The Law College Students' Union organised a Legal Conference on the 29th April last in the Asutosh Hall. Sir Trevor Harris, the Chief Justice of West Bengal, presided. Sir Trevor himself and several other speakers dwelt in their addresses on some aspects of the Indian Constitution which came into operation last January. The Chief Justice referred to the position of the Courts vis-a-vis the Constitution. He pointed out that they were the watch dog. They were to set at naught any action of the executive and any law passed by the Legislature if they were not consistent with the provisions of the Constitution. Consequently the importance of the Courts was considerable and its role significant. In order that the judges may properly discharge this responsibility it is not enough that they should be versed in law. They should have equal grasp of the changing problems of the society and the needs of the individuals. Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta drew the attention of those present to the position of the President of the Indian Republic. The powers which were conferred upon him were not so qualified by any clause as to require a decision of the President to be countersigned by a Minister. Consequently there was the danger of these powers being exercised at one or onother time by the President personally in his discretion. That would, of course, be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution whose basic principle was responsible government. It would, however, be difficult to say that such an action on the part of the President would be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution as they were now stated.

Professor D. N. Banerjee's address was also exclusively concerned with the position of the President. He pointed out that even written constitutions were incomplete without some customs and conventions which were to grow round it. The Indian Constitution also, though written, must be worked on the basis of some conventions. The President's authority and extent of power, though great on paper, would be circumscribed by the customs which were already growing. It was common knowledge that the makers of our Constitution intended the President to be the prototype of the King

in England. As the latter was only the titular ceremonial head of the State so was the President of the Indian Republic. It was true that it was not categorically stated in the Constitution that the President would be bound by the advice of the Cabinet in the exercise of his powers. It was only stated that there would be a Council of Ministers to aid and advice him. This was done on the model of the Act of 1935. As the people were already acquainted with the meaning of the "aid and advice" clause, it was not necessary to use more specific language.

Mr. Justice P. B. Mukherji took up the interesting subject of modern legislation for discussion in his address. He pointed out that the number of Acts passed by a legislature in every session was enormous. This would make knowledge of law difficult to acquire even for professional people, not to speak of the ordinary men at large. "'Ignorance of law is no excuse." But it should be so in view of the variety and complexity of the laws of to-day. Efforts should also be made to examine that the new laws which were contemplated were really necessary and urgent. To this end there should be a standing committee of the legislature. All projects of laws should be referred to it for review. We are not sure if this procedure would be very effective in the matter of reducing the number of laws finally passed by the legislature. Most laws emanate from the Government. The Cabinet originates most of the bills and this it does according to its needs. If the standing committee is to be the judge as to such needs, the Cabinet's position may become untenable. The standing committee may, of course, examine if the new legislative needs of the Government may not be fulfilled by existing laws with or without slight modification. In this way there may be a small reduction in the number of new laws adopted every year. But with the widening of the responsibility of the Government it is unlikely that considerable reduction will be possible.

Mr. Justice Mukherji has also suggested that in drafting new bills more care should be taken and to that end better draftsmen should be employed. Of late there has been considerable deterioration in the quality of drafting laws. Sometimes original drafting itself is defective and it is made more defective by the incorporation of hasty amendments. The amended bill is not always properly examined by experts and not unoften allowed to pass as it stands. It is good, of course, that better draftsmen should be employed in adequate number. But there is another matter to which due importance has not been attached. Bills are passed very hastily.

Sometimes they are not even referred to a select committee. All the readings take place on the same day and after an hour's discussion the bill as introduced passes through all the stages. It should be remembered in this connection that neither at the centre nor in West Bengal there is now a revising chamber. In view of this, discussion in the only chamber available should at least be adequate and what is more there should be a lapse of time between one stage of discussion and another, so that the ideas of the members may settle down and they may have an opportunity to revise their first thoughts. Mr. Justice Mukherji has done well to draw the attention of the public to an important question of the day.

Secondary Education Commission

We welcome the decision of the Government of India to appoint a Commission to investigate into the problems of secondary education in the country and suggest common principles for adoption throughout the country. Secondary education and University education are closely linked together and the progress in one sphere is dependent upon advance made in the other. A few months ago the University Education Commission submitted its report. If the recommendations of this Commission are to be carried out, considerable changes will have to be effected in the organisation of secondary education in many parts of the country. But it has not been properly investigated yet if such changes will be really beneficial to secondary education. In view of this it is a good idea that a commission will be constituted soon for the purpose. One thing, however, should be clearly borne in mind. All progressive changes are dependent on finance. If money is not available, everything will remain stagnant, commission or no commission.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Memo. No. C/9100/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50 the Charuchandra College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated in Hindi (Vernacular) to the I.A. Standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in that subject from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

All communications to be addressed to "The Registrar of the General Medical Council," and not to any individual by name.

General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom,
44, Hallam Street, Portland Place, London, W.1

In your reply please quote
MH/PT No. 68843.

28th November, 1949.

Sir,

I am directed by the President of the Council to say that at the session held from November 22 to November 24 :—

1. The name of the following registered medical practitioner was erased from the Medical Register by direction of the Council under section 29 of the Medical Act, 1858 :—

Date 1949	Name and Qualifications	Last Registered Address
Nov. 23	RHYDDERCH, Arthur Mervyn, M.R.C.S. Eng., 1926 ; L.R.C.P. (Lond.) 1926 ; B. Chir. 1928, M.B. 1937, U. Camb.	Coppelia, Clements Road, Chorley Wood, Herts.

2. The names of the following registered medical practitioners were restored by direction of the Council to the Medical Register, from which they had been erased under section 29 of the Medical Act, 1858 :—

Date 1949	Name and Qualifications	Last Known Address
Nov. 24	JONES, David William, M.R.C.S. Eng. 1914 ; L.R.C.P. Lond., 1914 ;	32, West Cromwell Road, London, X.W.5.
Nov. 24	MORISON, Duncan Metcalfe, M.B., Ch.B. 1910, M.D. 1922, U.Edin.	White Lodge, Barnton Avenue, Edinburgh, 4.

3. The name of the following registered dental practitioner was restored by direction of the Council to the Dentists Register, from which it had been penally erased—

Date 1949	Name and Status	Last Known Address
Nov. 22	BARRETT, Albert, Dentists Act, 1921.	17, Plumbe Street, Burnley.

I am, Sir,
Yours obedient servant,
Sd/-Illegible.

EAST PANJAB UNIVERSITY

From
The Registrar,
East Panjab University,
Solan (Simla Hills)
To

The Principals of the Colleges affiliated to the East Panjab University.

Sir/Madam,

I have the honour to inform you that the Principal, Govt. College, Ludhiana, has rusticated Brij Bhushan S/o. Pt. Jiwan Dass registered No. 48/A-gl-398, student of the second year class of his college, for the period ending 30th September, 1950 for using unfair means in the December House Examination and telling lies. He shall be eligible to appear in the Intermediate Examination to be held in 1951, provided he joins a college after the period of his rustication is over.

Yours faithfully,
Sd. Illegible.
Asst. Registrar (Co-ordination) for Registrar.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

Notification.

The following candidate has been found guilty of impersonating his brother at the H. S. C. Examination held in 1949. He has been debarred from admission to any University Examinations before the end of the year 1951.

Name—Vishamber, S/o. Shanker Goswami
Class—Second-year
College—City Intermediate College, Hyderabad, Deccan.

By order of the Vice-Chancellor
Sd. Illegible
Asst. Registrar, Exams. Branch.

No. 1772 Exam. D/-3rd Jan. 1950.

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

Notification No. Ex./25531 of 1949.

It is hereby notified that the undermentioned candidates who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations held in March and April, 1949, are declared to have failed at those examinations, have forfeited whatever exemptions they have so far earned and are further debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the year and month mentioned against their respective names :—

Seat No.	Name	College	Year.
	Intermediate Arts Examination		
180	Mr. Vasant Pandurang Raut	Siddhartha College	1st January, 1951
1696	,, Amarnath Mahadeo Rao Patole	Ramnarain Ruia College	do. ,,
1930	,, Chandu Sanwaldas Bhagwanani	Jai Hind College	do. ,,
2108	Miss Tarunika Jagmohandas Vakilwala	M.T.B. College	do. ,,
2150	Mr. Khandubhai Gulabbhai Naik	S. B. Garda College	do. ,,
2239	,, Babubhai Narasinhbhai Gamit	Baroda College	do. ,,
2254	,, Balram Mishrilal Kshatriya	M. N. College, Visnagar	do. ,,
2319	,, Nemchand Maneklal Shah	Baroda College	do. ,,
3140	,, Abdurrazak Murtuzasaheb Inamdar	Vijay College	do. ,,
3810	,, Gajanan Atmaram Bhide	Siddhartha College	do. ,,
3864	,, Jagannath Krishnaji Naik	Sir Parashurambhau College.	do. ,,
4341	,, Babubhai Jivrajbhai Mistry	Baroda College	do. ,,
4348	,, Mahomud Miyan Ammudann Saiyed	do.	do. ,,
4669	,, Gurubasapp Shivanandapa Rodgi	Vijay College	do. ,,

Intermediate Science Examination

Seat No.	Name	College		Year
845	Mr. Ramesh Jayawant Kulkarni	Siddhartha College	do.	,,
1348	,, Shamkant Bhaskar Deodhar	Ramnarain Ruia College	do.	,,
1601	,, Bhupendra Mulchandra Kapadia	do.	do.	,,
1908	,, Soli Phiroshaw Soonawala	do.	do.	,,
2138	,, Rajendra Bhagwandas Gandhi	M. M. College, Andheri	do.	,,
2725	,, Keshavlal Narottamdas Patel	M. T. B. College	do.	,,
3232	,, Jayantibhai Jhaverbhai Patel	Baroda College	do.	,,
3373	,, Chandrakant Ja-hbhai Patel	V. P. Mahavidyalaya	do.	,,
3470	,, Jethalal Ochhavlal Sheth	Do.	do.	,,
3981	,, Chhotalal Manilal Patel	S. L. D. Arts College	do.	,,
4036	,, Amritlal Motilal Shah	Do.	do.	,,

Intermediate Commerce Examination

1069	Mr. Rasiklal Magniram Patel	Pratapsinha College of Commerce	do.	,,
1133	,, Jayant Mamlal Sheth	Do.	do.	1952

M.A. Examination

411	Miss Shanta Manjanath Karki	University School of Economics & Sociology	1st January, 1952

B.Sc. Examination

190	Mr. Baburai Bhagwanlal Bhatt	Siddhartha College	do.	1951
2320	,, Rasiklal Jashbhai Patel	Baroda College	do.	1952
2381	,, Bhailalbhai Lallubhai Patel	do.	do.	,,

F.Sc. (Agri.) Examination

114	Mr. Rajnikant Lalshanker Joshi	Institute of Agriculture, Anand	do.	1951

S.Sc. (Agri.) Examination

5	Mr. Himmatlal Dhulabhai Patel	College of Agriculture, Poona	do.	1951
7	,, Lingangouda Shivanagouda Patil	Do.	do.	,,

It is further notified that Mr. Jayantkumar Bhikhabhai Thakkar (candidate No. 2336 at Intermediate Arts Examination of 1949), and Mr. Baburai Himatlal Shah (candidate No. 3207 at the Inter Science Examination of 1949), both from Petlad College are declared to have failed at their respective examinations, have forfeited whatever exemptions they have so far earned and further debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the 1st January, 1951 for helping Mr. V.A. Desai, a F. Y. Science student of the same college, from outside the Examination Hall.

Mr. V. A. Desai is also debarred from appearing at any College or University Examination before the 1st January, 1951.

Bombay, 20th October, 1949.

By Order,
S. R. DONGERKERY,
University Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

D.Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Proceedings of the Syndicate

Sub :—Malpractice at the University Examinations, April, 1949.

Read :—

(1) Report of the Chief Superintendent;
(2) Explanation of the candidate;
(3) Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Syndicate on Residence, Welfare and Discipline of Students.

Order

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidate guilty of resorting to unfair means at the Intermediate Examination, has resolved that the examination taken by the candidate be cancelled and he be debarred from appearing at any examination of this University earlier than March, 1951.

By order
Sd/- P. R. PARAMESWARA PANIKKAR,
Registrar.

Name of candidate	..	P. C. Zachariah
Register No.	..	1896
Examination taken by the candidate	..	Intermediate
Date of birth	..	3.12.1905
Name of father or guardian		Chacko, P. M.
Address	..	Pallathethu, Puthupally, Kottayam
Where educated	..	C. M. S. College, Kottayam
Period of punishment	..	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.

D. Dis. No. 35-49-Exam.

Office of the
University of Travancore, Trivendrum,
21st November, 1949.

INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

'P' Block, Raisina Road, New Delhi.

No. F.34 (1)/50-P., the 20th January, 1950.

From

The Secretary,

To

1. The Directors of Agriculture.
2. Directors of Veterinary Services.
3. Registrars of Universities.
4. Directors, Central Research Institutes.
5. Secretaries, Central Commodity Committees.

Subject :—*Instructions to Authors.*

Sir,

I am directed to say that it has been observed of late that some of the authors while sending their articles for publication in the Council's marginally noted journals send in carbon copies of the same and they often do not leave sufficient margins. This causes a very great difficulty to the Editorial staff, the referees and the printers who handle the articles in the manuscript stage. I am, therefore to request you kindly to bring it to the notice of all concerned that in future only the first typed copy of the paper with double spacing between lines and sufficient margins on both sides will be considered for publication in the Council's Journals and only such articles which conform to these instructions should be forwarded for publication.

1. Indian Farming.
2. Indian Journal of Agricultural Science
3. Indian Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry.
4. Kheti.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-Illegible,
for Secretary.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

Circular No. 48

Patna, the 3rd January, 1950

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, Inspectors & Inspectresses of Schools, Registrars of all Indian Universities, Secretary Public Service Commission, Ranchi & Secretary Federal Service Commission, Delhi and Principals of Colleges.

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University examination for the period noted against their names, as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the Intermediate & Bachelor Supplementary Examinations, 1949

Serial No.	Examination.	Centre & No.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's Name	Father's Name	Period of punishment.
1.	I.A.	Begu. 8	313/49	G. D. Begusarai	Chandra Sekhar Yadav	Yugal Prosad Yadav	Prior to the Annual Examination, 1951.
2.	I.A.	Begu, 24	147/49	G. D. Begusarai	Rai Rabindra Prasad	Rai Raj Narayan Prasad	do.
3.	I.A.	Begu. 40	288/49	G. D. Begusarai	Karyanand Sharma	Tribeni Prasad Singh	do.
4.	I.A.	Begu. 64	442/49	G. D. Begusarai	Kapileshwar Prasad	Dineshwar Prasad	do.
5.	I.A.	Nal. 9	4341/47	Nalanda Bihar Shariff	Firangi Prasad	Yetwari Grain	do.

Sd/-Illegible
Asst. Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
JUNE, 1950

SRI AUROBINDO ON THE PURE ACTION OF THE SENSE-MIND

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS, M.A., PH.D.

(University of Calcutta)

I do not know whether for Aurobindo the sense-mind is the brain. It is well known that all animals do not possess all five senses. Especially in some lowest animals the number of the senses varies from species to species. So we can presume that internal organic development in the animal in the remote past eventually led to the evolution of five distinct senses. Then the only question which is to be settled in this connexion is whether the brain can function by itself without the aid of the special senses and procure us knowledge of sensuous things independently of any of the five senses. I am afraid I am not competent to discuss this question. I lack technical details. The problem is therefore to be relegated to psychologists and physiologists. This much, however, is certain that, if the brain was originally there and if it could by itself procure knowledge of things, there was no need for the development of the special senses.

Be that as it may. Let me now turn to some of the details Aurobindo works out in his analysis of the pure action of the sense-mind. According to Aurobindo, the sense-mind can function by itself, and it is through the independent functioning of the sense-mind that we can acquire the knowledge of things that are far removed from the five senses. But how to prove it?

It will not be out of place here to mention that in the course of his analysis of the pure action of the sense-mind Aurobindo too often employs the terms 'mind' and 'subject' with reference to the sense-

mind. This indiscriminate use of the terms is apt to create a confusion in the minds of the readers. According to Aurobindo, the sense-mind is a sense and as such is only an instrument of knowledge or experience. So, properly speaking, knowledge or experience does not belong to the sense-mind, but to the subject, the knower. From Aurobindo's account it often appears that the sovereign action of the sense-mind consists in being aware of itself and that the sense-mind is identical with the subject.

This confusion in Aurobindo's statement of his theory of the sense-mind I cannot account for. Anyway, to this we may not attach much importance. In other contexts he makes his position sufficiently clear. He maintains that from the nature of our knowledge sensory or mental, it does not follow that we must inevitably be confined within the limits the five senses have imposed upon us. He points out that we can have pure experience, *i.e.*, experience of objects without the aid of the five senses. The question that now suggests itself to us is : How did the limits in our knowledge or experience come about ? According to Aurobindo, the gross sense-organs have come into being in the course of evolution. The sense-mind, he tells us, has so far depended upon the five senses for the knowledge of the external world ; yet the use of the gross senses is really only a dominant habit of the sense-mind. He assures us that it is possible for the sense-mind to get out of this habit and to perceive sensuous objects directly without the aid of the sense-organs.[1] But how ? According to Aurobindo, the possibility of such an expansion of our experience is mooted by the occurrence of such phenomena as are covered by the term "hypnosis". In a state of hypnosis, he contends, the waking mind is thrown into a state of sleep in which the sense-mind comes into free play. The sense-mind then functions as one self-sufficient sense and exercises its pure action. He is of opinion that such an extension of power is not impossible even in our normal waking state. He illustrates his point by a reference to experiments on hypnosis. But he is very brief, and what he says in regard to hypnosis and its possible bearing upon an expansion of the faculty of our knowledge does not carry conviction[2]. It is worthwhile then to examine Aurobindo's thesis.

[1] *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, p. 96.

[2] In this context Aurobindo employs the term 'mind', though there he speaks about the sense-mind. Vide *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, p. 96, especially the bottom lines of the first paragraph.

The best way to define the phenomena of hypnosis is to describe an actual case of hypnosis. Let me take some examples. Once an experimenter hypnotized a boy of sixteen. The boy was asked to look the experimenter straight in the eyes. After he had done so, the experimenter took him by the hand, drew him along with him and then let go the hand, their eyes still remaining fixed on each other. Then the experimenter lifted up his right hand, and the boy did the same. Then he indicated to the boy by a gesture that he must kneel down. The boy did so. The boy was trying to rise. But he could not rise so long as the hypnotist kept on looking at him. Finally the hypnotist ceased to look at the boy, and the charm was at once broken.[1] To take another example. A person about fifty-one years old was requested by the experimenter to seat himself on a chair and was then asked to think of nothing but that he was to go to sleep. After some time the hypnotist said to him, "Now your eye-lids are beginning to close; your eyes are growing more and more fatigued".[2] Thereupon the eyes of the hypnotic got gradually closer. Finally the hypnotist uttered, "Your eyes close and you sleep." The gentleman was forthwith fast asleep. Then the hypnotist lifted up the hypnotic's left hand in the air, and the hand remained in the air in spite of all the efforts the hypnotic made to bring it down. The hypnotist asked the gentleman if he were asleep, and the answer was "fast asleep". Then he was asked "Do you hear the canary singing?" The answer was "yes". Then the question put was "Do you hear the concert?" And again the answer was in the affirmative. Then the hypnotist took up a black cloth and put it into the hand of the hypnotic and said to him, "Do you feel the dog quite plainly?" He spoke out "quite plainly", and so on.

From the above examples it is perfectly clear that hypnosis is an abnormal state of consciousness into which an individual can be thrown by inhibiting in some way the normal course of his consciousness. It appears that the hypnotics under the experiments described above were in their perception and action wholly controlled by the hypnotist. The normal course of their consciousness altogether ceased. They felt, perceived and acted according to the suggestion made by the hypnotist. There are different theories of hypnosis; with these we are not here concerned. We may, however, note some fundamental principles on which hypnotists seem to be agreed.

[1] Albert Moll, *Hypnotism*, p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.*

Briefly these principles are : first, the attention of the person under experiment must be concentrated or diverted ; second, he must have a tendency to believe without proof and must be susceptible to suggestion ; third, there must be some minds capable of influencing some other minds.

It is a commonplace that most of us believe in many things without logical proof. There is a tendency in us to believe without proof and this makes us susceptible to suggestion. Some individuals evidently possess magnetic personality ; they can so influence other minds as to have entire control over them. Some hypnotists point out that diversion of the attention of the person under experiment is one of the important conditions of hypnosis. When a person under experiment fixes his attention upon something definite, the hypnotist concerned seizes on the state of concentration and through it exerts his influence. As Moll points out, the phenomena hypnotism deals with have not as yet been fully explained ; the facts and principles enumerated above go to make the phenomena just intelligible. Whatever be the conditions of hypnosis, the states of hypnosis show how some minds can work upon some others.

Some have tried to reduce the state of hypnosis to merely physical or physiological conditions. But their theory has foundered on the fact of suggestion. For instance, the experimenter says to the person under experiment, "You are in a battle", and the hypnotic begins to fight the air. Again he says, "You are in a lake", and the hypnotic begins to swim on the floor of the house, and so on. Now it is clear that a suggestion is no mere physical stimulus. A suggestion uttered is a sound or a set of sounds, and sometimes the same or similar sounds have altogether different effects. As Moll puts it, "The owner of a ship who receives a telegram from the Captain, "Reached the Cape" would be differently affected if the telegram were "Beached the Cape", yet the physiological stimulus differs very slightly in the two cases." [1] Indeed from the physiological point of view it is very difficult to understand how a single word like "sleep" changes the subject's whole state. The words that are employed in an experiment on hypnosis function exactly as they do in our normal life ; they convey meaning. A state of hypnosis therefore can occur only as the result of the commerce between two minds. As we have just seen, the hypnotic in his experience strictly follows the suggestion of the hypnotist. So the hypnotic may be put into a state called *rapport*, in which his attention is wholly fixed on the experimenter, and other objects hardly

[1] *Hypnotism*, pp. 278-79.

exist for the hypnotic. In some cases the hypnotic perceives things that are purely imaginary and in some others he does not perceive the things that are there around him. The idea or ideas proceeding from the suggestion made serve as percepts, though there is nothing to perceive corresponding to the ideas. There were cases in which the hypnotic recollected many things relating to the distant past of his life, which normally he could not remember. Sometimes the power of one sense or another greatly increased and sometimes one sense performed the function of another or of all the rest, and so on.

It is now clear that the sense-impressions the hypnotic receives in the state of hypnosis are not interpreted in the same way as in a normal state. There the normal activity of the senses is disorganized and the normal course of ideas is inhibited. These facts explain why the suggested idea is projected as a percept. We, however, cannot read any expansion of our faculties either into the projection of the suggested idea or into the intensification of any of the senses. Even if we admit that there is a sixth sense, *i.e.*, the sense-mind, we cannot say that a state of hypnosis brings into bold relief the pure action of the sense-mind. Aurobindo himself believes that the sense-mind works through the senses in our ordinary life and experience. So, if it is the fact that in a state of hypnosis the normal working of the sensory mechanism is interfered with, the sense-mind cannot remain unaffected. As we have seen above, according to Aurobindo, knowledge arises in us only when the sense-impressions are transformed through the functioning of the sense-mind. We find that the hypnotic sees the hypnotist, hears the words he speaks. But the actions that follow upon the words uttered show that the words are not accepted or interpreted as they would be in his normal state of consciousness. And all this is clearly due to the fact that there the sense-mind itself, if there be any, is disturbed. It is not only that in hypnosis the sense-mind is not in its pure action, but also that the sense-mind finds itself in a state in which it is constrained to perform what it does or can do only in collaboration with the five senses. There the functioning of the sense-mind itself is considerably abnormal. It is because of this abnormal functioning of the sense-mind that the projection of the suggested idea as a percept takes place. A river is a body of water that flows between two banks. Now, if at a particular point on its course we place a dam across the stream, the volume of water the dam obstructs swells and overflows the banks. In a state of hypnosis when the normal working of the senses is affected, the function of a parti-

cular sense is intensified, or the whole pressure falls on the internal organ, if there be any. The whole conscious being of the hypnotic reacts to the resistance and under the pressure the bottom layers of his consciousness rise to the surface, and the contents of his secondary consciousness predominate. In view of all this, I have to say that Aurobindo looks in vain into experiments on hypnosis for proof of his thesis that we are capable of an expansion of our faculties. What proof does he require? He himself is aware that his claim is amply borne out by experiences on the part of many *yogins* of India. In the *yogins*, however, the expansion of the faculties of knowledge is effected on the very basis of normal experience. They attain occult powers by transcending the senses, not by sinking below them.

Here it is well to note Aurobindo's opinion in regard to the five senses in their relation to the sense-mind. We all agree with Aurobindo that we become aware of external things through the senses. He, however, tells us that the use of the sense-organs is only "the regularity of a dominant habit."[1] If the use of the sense-organs is a habit of the sense-mind, it can gradually give up the bad habit. He firmly believes that we can liberate ourselves from the domination of matter, and, for that reason, from the senses. Is it then meant that, when we have developed non-sensuous instruments of knowledge of sensuous objects, we shall have nothing to do with the senses? Many *yogins* possess extraordinary power of vision, hearing, and so forth; they yet use their senses just as any ordinary man uses his. The use of the senses does not therefore necessarily involve any domination by them.

Again, if powers of extraordinary experience, *i.e.*, experience without the aid of the senses are suddenly opened up in an individual, he may not keep quite normal. For instance, some years back a certain person in America became clairaudient.[2] He had been constantly hearing sounds of all sorts, now very sweet, now very terrific—singing, sounds of dancing, bumping of trains, waterfalls, clash of waves, loud report of guns, and so forth, and he was thus so tormented that he went all crazy. All this goes to show that the senses are not some mere accidental features of the human organism, but that they have been evolved by Nature to serve some definite purpose

1 *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, p. 95.

2 This information I have gathered from a course of lectures on *True Psychology* the late Swami Abhedananda delivered years ago in New York, which have been recently published under the title "*Our Relation to the Absolute*" (Ramkrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta). *Vide* pp. 68-69.

in the scheme of human experience. The phenomenon of clairaudience or clairvoyance is proof that we are capable of knowing external things without the senses, or things that the senses cannot reach. It is, however, found that, if clairaudience or clairvoyance is substituted for the normal way of seeing things and hearing sounds, or if clairaudience or clairvoyance become a constant phase of our experience, our normal life cannot work. On the other hand, the problem is: How to develop the sixth sense which is supposed to be the instrument of supernormal experience? If that acquirement be independent of, and indifferent to, moral and spiritual development of the subject concerned, that would certainly be used as a tool in the hands of the devil in him in his fight against everything good and wise. Science has already proved a Frankenstein monster, and the development of the sixth sense would immeasurably enhance its destructive power. If there is anything like a sixth sense and if it is to come to any good, extraordinary powers that accrue on account of the sixth sense must carry with them a guarantee against their abuse. In short, our ordinary life requires the limitations the sense-organs impose upon our experience. Even in the *yogins* who have developed faculties that function independently of the senses, extraordinary experience is only a temporary phase. They can, of course, at will, attain to a higher level of experience where they dispense altogether with the gross organs; but in the regulation of the normal functioning of their higher faculties the senses presumably play a very important part. So, if we can develop some non-sensory means of knowing sensuous contents, we may still have some use for the senses. Hence we should be slow to agree with Aurobindo that the use of the senses is only a dominant habit on our part.

Aurobindo points out that out of the pure action of the sense-mind we can well develop some senses other than the five which we employ in our ordinary experience. When we develop the sense-powers in the purely "mental or subtle" activity,[1] he contends, we can, for instance, know directly the thoughts and feelings of others without the help of their physical expressions The physical organization of the senses is, in Aurobindo's opinion, a selection that serves only the purpose of outward life.[2] And he tells us that through the development of the sovereign action of the sense-mind we can transcend the selective work of the senses. He admits that experiences

[1] *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, p. 97.
[2] *Ibid.*

that may accrue to us through the free acting of the sense-mind would seem from the ordinary point of view abnormal and difficult of systematization. All the same, he points out, an extension of our faculties through the pure action of the sense-mind is just possible. But the sense-mind itself, Aurobindo tells us, has its own limitations. Even its pure action cannot lead us to the truths that are spiritual through and through, the truths which only subtle reason can grasp.

This is, however, another matter. With this we are not here concerned. The problem with which we are immediately concerned is whether there is strictly a sixth sense over and above the five with which we are familiar. I have discussed in some detail Aurobindo's view, but have found no sure ground on which he can base his theory of the sixth sense.[1] Even granted that there is a sixth sense, we cannot see how Aurobindo can make good his claim that an expansion of our knowledge in the supernormal direction is possible through the sovereign action of the so-called sixth sense. The sixth sense, if any, is after all a sense. So we cannot see how it can have any bearing upon our knowledge of things that are non-sensuous, such as ideas, feelings and thoughts. Further, powers of supernormal experience, such as clairaudience, clairvoyance, and so forth, generally accrue to one through spiritual development. These experiences, relating as they do to the awakening of the latent powers of mind, which is in essence spiritual or is linked to our spiritual being, point to the fact that the conditions of a possible expansion of the faculties or powers of knowledge lie far too deep to be connected with the so-called sense-mind.

[1] I have discussed this point in some detail in another paper which is shortly to be published in the "*Hibbert Journal*".

RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS

HENRY W. MILLER
Professor, University of Michigan

II

PERIOD FIVE : 1801-1881

This is a relatively short period, when compared with the others, and was occupied by Alexander I, Nicholas I and Alexander II. It was Alexander I who had to meet Napoleon in the Treaty of Tilsit, in 1807. Napoleon had conquered Poland but did not choose to invade Russia at that time. It was in 1812 that Napoleon did invade Russia, took Moscow, but found that the Russians set it afire rather than surrender. So he did not get out with even a tenth of his original army. This was the beginning of his downfall. Dictators seem driven to destruction by Fate.

It is a remarkable thing that Alexander I was so far ahead of the other leaders in Europe in seeing the needs in Europe. He proposed a United States of Europe in 1804-05 and again at Vienna in 1815. The Treaty of Vienna and the Holy Alliance were adopted instead. The latter maintained peace for some fifty years. It was also in this period, that is, approximately, 1801, that Georgia was annexed. This is the region containing the Baku oil fields and the railway line from Baku to the Black Sea. It is from this region that Stalin comes; he is not a Slav, but a Georgian. This region north of Armenia was at one time conquered by the last of the Mongol Khans, Tamerlane. It was fought over so many times that it favored annexation with Russia for protection.

It was under Nocholas I and Alexander II that the Crimean War was fought in 1853-1856, in which the alliance of Turkey, France, Britain and Piedmont succeeded in defeating Alexander's armies, and his attempt to get out into the Mediterranean was blocked. There has always been, as at present, a fear of the Russians reaching the Mediterranean.

Under Alexander II (1855-1881) all serfs were finally freed in 1861. He had likewise seen demonstrated the use of railways for ordinary transportation and, during our own Civil War, he saw demonstrated their part in warfare. He saw the use of railways by the

Germans in the rapid transportation of troops during their wars with Denmark, Austria and Saxony, and France. So he began the rapid building of railways. Likewise, there was the beginning of the education of peasants. One should note all of this as the extreme of the development in Russia at a time when technology, science, and art had gone so very far everywhere else.

Sixth Period

The sixth period reaches from 1881 to 1917, that is, to the beginning of the present Soviet Republic. In this period under Alexander III there was rapid development of railroad building; the trans-Siberian Railroad was begun in 1891. The languages of the schools in Poland were russianized after most of Poland was annexed and there was a real beginning of what we call modern Russia.

The second portion of this period, under Nicholas II, extended from 1894 to 1917. It was a strange hodgepodge of inefficient government, excesses of exploitation by landowners, and governmental graft in the extreme. This period saw the completion of the Siberian railroad, the fighting of the Japanese War, with the loss of the far eastern provinces in 1906, and then the World War, from 1914 to 1917, in which the Russian armies were defeated. And, finally, the Revolution, with the assassination of Nicholas II, the last of the Romanovs.

It is not easy to explain the actual limit of the development within Russia in 1917. The last thirty years have, of course, been under the domination of the Communists with their new organization called the Union of Soviet Republics. One Russian, speaking of the discoveries and developments within Russia, said that from his diligent study of Russians and his knowledge of the Russian people, they seemed to have thought of a great many things but have done nothing about any of them. Thus the claims about having discovered aviation, internal combustion engines, electric lights, and so forth, may be just that. As Jules Vernes dreamed a great many things but built none of them, perhaps these people thought of many things but did nothing about them. Secondly, a friend of this writer, who spent his first forty years in Russia, a well educated man and an officer in their regular army, made the extraordinary remark sometime in the 1930's that in his entire life in Russia, which was prior to 1917, he had never seen an article of hardware in Russia that had not been made in Germany. This is very significant. They had little or

nothing of a transportation system, very little of a production system, their scientists were largely theorists, they did nothing about their sciences. Their technology was poorly developed; it had not been demonstrated whether they could produce in the quality and quantity which is necessary in modern times to wage a major war. They were essentially Orientals in their philosophy; they were fatalists—casualties in warfare were of no consequence in their opinion; there were always many more people to use as soldiers.

The influences of all other parts of Europe on people all over this world has been significant. The influences of America on the entire world are well-known. The fine technology of Sweden, the extraordinary development of the various parts of Germany, the development of sciences in France, the development of technology and sciences in Great Britain, the development of arts in Italy, the extraordinary developments of Greece, Egypt, and the Middle East are all well-known. For the period ending with 1917, what can one say of what we call Russia? The answer is exactly nothing except as to music, philosophy, literature and abstract science. There was still no demonstration of what they could do in a world living by technology. And why? Because of a fundamental lack of capacity for technology? If so, can the leopard ever change his spots?

The Regime of the Bolsheviks

Those who staged the Revolution of 1917 were called Bolsheviks, as opposed to the more moderate non-revolutionary Mensheviks. In recent years they have called themselves the Soviets and we have called them Communists. These revolutionaries have now been in charge of Russia for thirty-two years and have accomplished remarkable things. They have achieved an industrialization of Russia that would surely not have been achieved otherwise. At the same time one should be realistic and appreciate that this has been done at a cost that may, and probably will, prove the undoing of the revolutionaries, resulting in a gradual counter-revolution which will perhaps in fifty years, put that country back in line with the nations of the world who are inclined to mind their own business and let others mind theirs.

The waging of a major war requires tremendous resources in manpower and materials, a vast supply of developed power, great and well-tried industrial equipment, and highly developed skills together with a thoroughly adequate transportation system. One

cannot omit any of these. We have already credited Russia with materials, manpower, and probably an adequate food supply. We have already mentioned that their relative power supply, as compared with ours, is 8 to 45 or less than one-fifth the amount we have. There is a real question as to whether they can ever develop a greater percentage. It should be understood that as years go by the amount of power available in America will grow, and probably at a rate in excess of the rate in other countries. So, if the total power of the world should increase 25% in the next twenty years, it must be supposed that America will have a due proportion of that increase and that we may retain our present proportion of 45% of the total, and Russia may still have only her 8%. This must be kept in mind. When it comes to a well-developed and well-tried industrial system, skills, and a transportation system with which the Politbureau could wage a war against America and its Allies, there is much to be questioned.

The First Ten Years

The first ten years of the regime of the Bolsheviks, from 1917 to 1927, are characterized by the liquidation of the middle and upper classes, by confiscation of land, property, resources, the consolidation of the grip of the revolutionary group over the governments of distant provinces and cities, and the establishment of collective farms, in which the individual owns nothing and works for the state. One individual who should know says the Bolsheviks liquidated a three hundred years accumulation of culture in ten years.

It took the revolutionary group some ten years to realize that their so-called communistic philosophy did not suit and would not thrive in the agrarian culture which prevailed in Russia in 1917. They found that it belongs only in an industrial culture, where one faces the apparently insoluble question of what part of a manufactured product belongs to those who established the factory and what part to the worker. It is here that one can play eternally with specious arguments; probably a well-founded conclusion will never be reached. In 1927, the Politbureau ordered the forming of an one-year plan for the development of industry. This was for the year 1927-1928. In that year they realized that their domination of Russia, and their organization as a whole, would fail if they did not have an industrial goal. So in 1928 they announced the first Russian Five Year Plan, to be conducted from 1928 to 1933. Here we see the realization on

the part of these people that they must sponsor a vast industrial development, that they must try to become a competitor of Germany, France, England, and America. It is here that the achievements have been most significant, both as to extent and exorbitant cost.

The Second Five Year Plan began in 1933 and ran until 1938. During that period it was evident, from the aggressions of Italy in Africa and the obvious intentions of Hitler towards Poland and France, that their industries must be turned gradually toward the production of war equipment. It can hardly be said that anything significant was accomplished in the field of agriculture; it is doubted whether they have produced any more food at any time during the last thirty years than was produced by the peasants on their small parcels of land or on the great estates. There has been no evidence of more ample food supplies for everyone *since* the Revolution than *before*.

The development of industry in Russia was both helped and hindered by the war. There was, naturally, the greatest incentive for the development of industry and the stepping up of production while, at the same time, the over-running of most of western Russia by the Germans after June, 1941, deprived them of their great power project on the Dneiper River, their manufacturing city of Stalingrad, their ports on the Black Sea and in the Baltic. They were very much on their own and had to depend upon such industries as they could move rather completely into the far east and into the Ural Mountains.

If Hitler's armies had not been so insanely brutal to the Russians in their advance to Stalingrad, almost to Moscow, Kiev, and across to the ports of the Black Sea, it is probable that the war for Russia might have had another outcome. Indications seem that the people in the area that was over-run were not particularly enthusiastic about the Soviet regime and they were not antagonistic toward the Germans; but the Germans proceeded in exactly the opposite way from the one in which they should have proceeded. They destroyed homes, killed ruthlessly, herded others into slavery, destroyed towns, railways, and proceeded in a fashion to play upon the emotions of a relatively simple people. The Russians love their homes, and the destruction of their homes and the loss of their friends raises them to the highest pitch of determination and endurance to retaliate. Therein lies the logic of the injunction that *one should never invade Russia.* It is something *we should never do.*

During the war very little could be done in Russia to develop power, which requires peace-time leisure and thoroughness. Some progress was achieved in the development of industry and of skills

on the part of more people, both men and women, but at the same time there appears to have been no relaxation of the dreadful severity of the police state. As a consequence, there were more and more political slaves, even battalions of women working under armed guard. Surely this could never enlist the cooperation needed; it did not then, despite the fact that Russian women have long been forced into doing a man's job.

The transportation system of Russia suffered greatly during the war; their industrial system did not achieve a total increase because of the destruction in the west; their power was not increased; and while their supply of skilled men may have increased, the evidence of its achievement is not very convincing.

Post-War Development of Industry, Power, Transportation, and Skill

It would seem that the two Five Year Plans, from 1928 to 1938, the war production, and the war itself have now culminated in the last five years toward the development of sufficient equipment for a vast army and to rehabilitate the appalling destruction of the west. Transportation and power in Russia must still be labeled Primitive, particularly transportation (both highway and railway). There is a significant bit of evidence that might indicate what can be done in Russia in the future in the development of skilled industries that might rival America. Without question, they have the manpower in excess of our own. But what can they do with it? One finds that in modern industry precision and accuracy have become the criteria of the qualities of workmen, their inclination, and of the quality of equipment. It is not difficult to produce such ball bearings as are used in the rollers of roller skates; but nothing would be farther from the truth than to imagine that such bearings could be used in automobiles or any of the thousand and one items of equipment used today and taken for granted. It is here, apparently, that one begins to find the crack in the armor of the Russians. Apparently a Russian neither has any inclination to be careful and precise, nor can he be compelled to be so. They have had ample time to concentrate on development of industries to make all of the bearings that they require for everything; but it is a fact that they have fallen down on this and many other endeavors which require the utmost care based on the desire to be careful and to produce fine results. And so it is not surprising to find that they are trying to get the maximum supply of ball bearings

from Sweden, Britain, France, and America. They should at least be able to make these vital parts of their machines themselves. It is reasonably certain that they have tried to make themselves independent in this one respect, and that something has seriously hindered them. We believe it is the age-old characteristic of this group of slavic peoples to have no deep interest in things mechanical. In quite a different field, the development of, and the production of, the newer drugs the Russians have failed although, for example. penicillin is successfully produced in little Denmark. We provided the plant for Russia but they have not been able to operate it. Is it because they are unable to be careful? There seems every reason to believe that the maximum development of a desire to be careful, and a capacity to work with precision, requires freedom and reward—something that is completely lacking in Russia. One may doubt if individuals can be compelled to be precise. Factories in Russia have produced tremendous quantities of products which have been so shoddy that they could not be sold, and for the production of which the managers have been severely punished. This would seem to indicate the weakness in their armor.

In his article printed in The Saturday Evening Post of September 10, 1949, Mr. Demaree Bess quotes Yugoslav engineers as follows concerning Russian and American made machines: Yugoslav engineers in the oil fields and mines now are showing American visitors examples of Russian, Czech and Hungarian machines and tools, bought only two years ago, which they say never did work well and already are wearing out. In contrast, these engineers point to American machinery, bought before the war and still being used. "When we get more equipment like this," they exclaim, "then we will really speed up production!"

In addition to what we have just mentioned, there seems ample evidence to indicate that these people lack the talent to design and develop the equipment that they need and want. Well-nigh everything that they are making seems to be copied from designs they have purchased elsewhere. They will pay almost any price to induce skilled craftsmen and designers from the Western countries to go to Russia to assist in the manufacture of equipment, but they show no indication of being able to originate their own designs; if they can do so, they should be able to do something other than copy. They should be able to produce and send to the large cities of the world examples of their production in almost every field. This would include airplanes, automobiles, refrigerators, sewing machines, motors,

radios, television and a host of other items with which we are familiar, to demonstrate that under their system and with their people they can make the finest things anyone ever saw. This would obviate any necessity to argue about the merits of their variety of socialism; the demonstration would be all-convincing. On the contrary, our own General Motors Corporation has convinced itself from its own investigation, that the average over-haul life of the motor installed in Russian trucks is about eleven thousand miles. We hardly think our engine in good running order by that time and do not think of over-hauling under 50,000 miles; so they are not even producing good copies.

In Conclusion

Our conclusion from this entire picture is that during and since Yalta and Potsdam we have been appeasing the Politbureau even more than we appeased Japan during the ten years before the war. That group of very brutal men is thoroughly realistic and are completely aware of both the resources and lack of resources of their own country. They know they have less than one-fifth as much power as we produce, to make any kind of equipment. They know their transportation system is primitive. They know their people have not developed skills they had hoped to be developed, and they have not been able to design competitive equipment. They know that a hoard of men and a few thousand airplanes cannot make an army. You must have an industrial system, a transportation system, an almost unlimited supply of industrial skill behind the army and air-force to keep them going to ultimate victory. They saw us start from scratch in 1941 and achieve the amazing victories of 1945. They have realised that they have nothing to lose in being rude, deceptive, by planting their spies everywhere, by breaking every agreement, because they have found that out of all of such behavior they make some gains in concessions or discoveries.

This writer has concluded that we made a serious mistake in permitting them to get away with the blockade of Berlin. That came about, of course, because of the foolish action of Ambassador Wynant, who swept aside the Army's plans for a wide corridor into Berlin. He said he did not want anything that would make the Russians believe we did not fully trust them. But had we said in reply to the Russian proposal to establish the blockade, that we had no intention of standing for that, that we were not going to let the

people of Berlin down, and that we were not going to get out and would at once establish truck convoys accompanied by adequate armor, they would have known that we certainly meant business. The failure of the Politbureau to wage prompt and terrible war against weak Tito, in Yugoslavia, ought to be a demonstration of what they do when met by determined opposition. Tito has even encouraged the other countries of the Balkans to break away; still they do nothing. Surely we have been taking them much too seriously. Of course we should be helping the countries of Western Europe to recovery, and of course we must keep our military forces in Europe, and we must rearm Western Europe to restore their courage and confidence, but we surely made a vast mistake in permitting them to get away with their vetoes nearly thirty times to block progress and promote confusion when we are so anxious to promote recovery. A former minister of finance of Hungary, in his recent articles in The Saturday Evening Post, said that the Politbureau should never be trusted and that they respect power, only. They do not intend war for they know they could not win.

Relative War Potential

It would be of interest to present the details of each specific item of war potential of Russia and of America. But we are severely limited as to word space and must present a brief summary of relative war potential from the best evidence we have been able to secure. It is as follows:

	Russia	America
Power	1	5
Industrial Production	1	20
Railways and Railway Equipment	1	10
Highways and Trucks	1	20
Food	1	2
Oil	1	10
Iron and Steel	1	3
Army	1	1
Air Force Fighters	1	1

STALEMATE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

What with partition, what with refugees problem and the thousand ills like devaluation, Indo-Pak deadlock, the Indian economy has more than ever been shattered from many points of view. The prepartition India has often been described as a prolific region of vast potentialities, industrial, commercial, agricultural for her own population. But owing to development of many factors that are common knowledge to all, India faces crises on many fronts. Since the transfer of power, there have been structural changes on the pattern of the internal economy as a whole. India has since been spending annually to the pathetic tune of £ 100 million or Rs. 130 crores or more for the cost of foodgrains abroad and it is a hard fact that her resources of foreign earnings have since been crippled. From a net exporter she has been transformed to a net importer of basic raw materials like jute, cotton, hides and skins for her industries. The core of the problem lies in overright changes on industrial economy brought about by the series of bunglings on economic policy. Her assets at home and abroad have almost been exhausted and the low productions and low business activities are some of the peculiar problems that are playing havoc in the country's economic life.

From all experience gathered during the century of progress (if any) we find that agricultural economy has been in most primitive stages of development. Its development comes first priority. The land to-day can easily use one in every three persons of the agricultural population, 280 million strong, who are thrown on it for their livelihood. In industry, new advance will take a long time for materialisation if we consider the fact that five millions more are added to the population every year. Inevitably, the underemployed agriculture is to be balanced with further use of more people in industry. The industrial picture is not good to-day. According to an estimate, between 1923-24 and 1934-35, the total paid-up capital of joint-stock companies in British India increased by about Rs. 35 crores and again from 1939-40 to the present time (1949), the paid-up capital has gone up by about Rs. 265 crores. Over a ten-year period which is indeed a remarkable rate of growth, but still gives a scale of investment of only Rs. 26 crores per year, whereas at least four to six times that amount will probably be required to create new employment oppor-

tunities in industry to a reasonable extent. A very critical situation lies ahead also in agriculture. During the coming years we will have to complete the vast river valley projects and a Rs. 100 crores is the yearly minimum investment to be secured for it. The development of agriculture and industry alike needs annual investment of one Rs. 300 crores. This means that the country should have at least 6 per cent of its national income. If we want additional money for new and replacement capital together, we have to save at a rate six to eight per cent. The Table I below is an index of the Indian Agricultural Production the base period taken as the average for 1936-37 and 1937-39....100.

TABLE I

Some Important Items only	1939-40	1947-48	1948-49 Provisional
Foodgrains	99	98	93
Rice	98	98	95
Wheat	10.4	76	83
Millets	99	104	85
Gram	94	137	147
Fibres	90	56	52
Cotton	89	52	44
Jute	99	83	99

Table II shows the industrial production the base period taken as August 1939....100.

TABLE II

Some important items only Textiles	1939-40	1946-47 (Provisional)
Indian Cotton consumption	96.8	104.8
Jute Manufactures ..	115.3	93.7
Fuel & Energy.. ..	103.5	127.7
Steel Ingots	108.0	118.0
Pig Iron	109.5	81.0
Paper	118.3	119.2
Matches	99.5	71.9
Paints	121.4	87.9
Sulphuric Acid ..	110.6	107.6
Cement	103.0	120.2
Sugar	191.1	119.3
General Index	110.3	105.0

What one should notice is that the general index of industrial productions reaches 115.0 for the period 1948-49 and 109.8 for the five months of 1949-50 compared with that in 1939. The general index of Indian business activity stood at 111.9 in 1946-47 and at 104.0 in 1947-48 and at 106.4 in 1948-49 and at 105.9 for the five months April to August, 1949-50. The total revenues central and provincial together stood at Rs. 598⅓ crores in 1949-50 as against Rs. 596⅓ crores in 1948-49 (revised) and Rs. 590½ crores in 1945-46. This comes up to less than Rs. 20 per head of yearly distribution. The problem has been more serious to-day that the expenditures, central and provincial have not been economically productive for many reasons. The net defence expenditure stood at staggering amounts like Rs. 155.43 crores and Rs. 157.37 crores for the years 1948-49 (revised) and 1949-50 (Budget). It has often been over-emphasised that India's economic ills lay at the door of Pakistan. India has been aiming at economic self-sufficiency for her own interests. India's imports from Pakistan usually total Rs. 60 crores and if the jute self-sufficiency comes to fruition by 1950-51 over trade with Pakistan (if resumed) would be balanced at a figure of Rs. 50 crores each way. This would constitute less than ten per cent of our exports or our imports in a normal year. The national income of the Indian Union being reckoned at Rs. 6000 crores, and the loss in income (uncompensated by diversion of trade) being reckoned liberally at Rs. 100 crores, India would lose less than two per cent of her national income. In the jute industry, for a year or two, the situation would perhaps be uncomfortable. But this industry has faced crisis many times before and short working for three months in a year can probably be taking in its stride. India certainly cannot be crippled by the decline of Indo-Pak trade.

From another aspect of the problem, it must be stressed that the total productivity of the country is likely to raise to the equivalent value of only As. 12 per head if we invest the whole central revenue of Rs. 350 crores for a year. At any cost the national productivity is not changed by the public investment of the revenue. Another point also needs special attention that no development of internal economy is possible in an atmosphere of disinterestedness between the public and the pusillanimous governments. This is all due to the fact that the middle class as a whole have little initiative or role in governmental half-hearted measures of economic improvement. The government and big business seem to be lacking in appreciation of the great potentialities of the middle class intelligentsia. There

has been very little done to alleviate the distress and sufferings borne by the middle class for a long time. The Republic Budget is conspicuous by its absence of any programme for them. The Government has been alive to the problems of economy in expenditures by Rs. 40 crores in 1949-50 and double this amount in 1950-51. It remains to be seen that the simultaneous cuts in the provincial expenditures may help tide over the present crisis of serious magnitude. The problem however is rather not single nor singular one. It is to be remembered that there has been only 10 per cent cut of the upper income salaried officers and even the President of the Republic has voluntarily agreed his reduced salary for the time being. What is further required is a comprehensive savings plan on several lines of national policy. The tertiary services of the lower income groups should not suffer due to the uneconomic forces *e.g.*, high price levels and higher cost of living. A drive to expand agricultural production more often than not ignores the wrong emphasis laid on the peasants' distress. The rot lies in the fixed salaried groups who hardly get relief (if any) from the abnormal price level, unrelated to trade, production and consumption. It needs no emphasis that the economy measures by themselves do not go deep to the root causes of decline of all-round business activities in the country's economic life to-day.

FURTHER NOTES ON TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

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I have shown in my last article[1] that according to the early Chinese Annals[2] the Hunnish King Chi-yu (174-161 B.C.), inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yueh-Chi who were at that time occupying the extreme eastern and north-eastern parts ef Kashgaria, or, in other words, the region adjoining the Hunnish dominions in Mongolia. The Yueh-chi king was killed and in the terrible panic that followed the tribe left its homeland and started towards the west. On the Yueh-chi migration to the west, Rapson writes: "In the country of the Ili river, now called Kulja, the Yueh-chi came upon a tribe called Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were routed and their king slain, and the Yueh-chi continued their journey westwards towards the Issyk-kul lake..... Here they appear to have divided into two bands, the one afterwards known as the Little-Yueh-chi going southwards and settling on the borders of Tibet, the other the Great-Yueh-chi, continuing their movements to the west until they came into contact with a people whom the Chinese called the Sse (Sai) or Sek who are probably to be identified with the Sakas of Jaxartes".[3]

Now, Chang-kien's report, as incorporated in Shi-ki, 123, does not mention any struggle between the Yueh-chi and the Wu-sun, and ascribes the migration of the Yueh-chi to the Jaxartes directly to the "Hiung-nu" attack. The T'sien-Han-Shu, no doubt, speaks of a defeat of the Wu-sun by the Yueh-chi, but it took place not in the country of the Ili river, as Rapson holds, but in the Eastern Mongolia, in the neighbourhood of the original Yueh-chi territory. Some of the

1 Calcutta Review, 1949, July, pp. 192-197.

2 Wylie, "*History of the Heung-noo in Their Relations with China*", Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1874, pp. 401-51; 1876, pp. 41-80; Wylie, "*Notes on the Western Regions*", Ibid. 1881, pp. 20-73; 1882, pp. 82-115; Hirth, "*China and the Roman Orient*"; Hirth, "*Story of Chang-kien*" or a translation of Ch. 123 of *Tsu-ma-tsien's Shi-ki*, Jaos, 1917, pp. 89-152; Kingmill, "*The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkistan and the Adjacent Countries etc*", JRAS, 1882, pp. 74-104; Parker, "*Chinese Knowledge of Early Persia*", Asiatic Quarterly Review, XV, 3rd Ser, 1903, pp. 149-69; Chavannes, "*Les Memoires de Se-ma-Tsien*", Introduction; Chavannes, "*Lespays d'Occident d'apres le Heou Han Chou*", Toung Pao, 1907, pp. 149-234.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 565.

ancient Chinese authorities maintain that after this defeat of the Wu-sun and the death of their king, the child hear to the Wu-sun throne grew up as a page-boy in the "Hiung-nu" court and avenged the death of his father by completely routing the Yueh-chi tribe and driving them out of the Ili basin and the latter in turn came and settled in the Oxus and the Jaxartes valleys.

The other part of Rapson's statement is similarly open to criticism. A study of Chang-kien's report (*Shi-ki*, 123, 29) shows clearly that the division of the Yueh-chi into *Ta-Yueh-chi* and *T'sien-Yueh-chi* took place shortly after their defeat by the Hunnish King Chi-yu and before they had migrated to the west. In fact, those unable to migrate to the west with the main-body, moved directly to the south settling among the Tibetans or the *K'iang* without ever having passed through the Ili or the Issyk-kul regions[1].

After their defeat at the hands of the Wu-sun, the Yueh-chi moved further westwards and fell upon the Sai or Sakas. The Chinese sources inform us that as a result of this attack.....

I. the *Sai-wang* moved south and ruled over *Ki-pin*;

II. the *Sai* were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms.

I

The exact meaning of the term *Sai-wang* in the Chinese Annals is not clear. Franke thinks that as the term '*wang*' means king, the expression may be taken as meaning '*the king of the Sai or Sakas*' Konow interprets the word as equivalent to the Saka term '*murunda*' and thinks that "there was accordingly a Saka tribe known as the Saka-Murundas, evidently because their chiefs were styled '*murunda*', while other Saka tribes used other Saka titles, a state of affairs which is well attested".[2]

Thus as a result of the Yueh-chi pressure a branch of the Sakas moved south and settled in *Ki-pin*. The identification of *Ki-pin* is a matter of great controversy. The Han Annals when describing *Ki-pin* simply states that it was '*level and warm*' and was 'bounded on the south-west by *Wu-i-shan-li* (Arachosia)', and on the north-west by *Ta-hia* (Bactria). Konow's identification of it with Kapisa answers to this description in so far as the latter shows its geographical position relative to Bactria, but it was a mountainous district and

[1] McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, Appendix.
[2] *Corpus*, II; pp. xxff.

cannot be regarded as *'level'* and *'warm'*. According to Yuan Chwang, moreover, Kapis was 'cold and windy'. Its identification with Kabul, originally suggested by Klaproth and accepted by Tarn, is certainly wrong because in the Han period the Kabul river basin was known by another name *viz., Kao-fu*, which has been separately mentioned[1]. From a careful study of the Chinese documents, Chavannes concluded that 'le ki-pin est le Kapisa a l'epoque des T'ang : c'est le Cachemire a l'epoque des Han et des Wei'[2]. Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 53, and Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 251, accept this view. Inspite of the criticisms levelled against the theory by Konow[3], it appears from the route followed by the *Sai-wang* on the way to *Ki-pin*, that Chavannes' theory still holds the field and *Ki-pin* of the Han period must be identified with Kashmir, with portions of the Punjab plain probably.

About the route followed by the *Sai-wang* on the way to *Ki-pin*, the Han-shu gives only one detail in the statement that "the *Sai-wang* went southwards and traversed *H'ien-tu*"[4]. In Fa-hien's itinerary, *H'ien-tu* or the "Hanging-gorge" is located "on the Indus in a Ssw. direction from Kashgar, a little to the west of Skardo, and near the boundary of the modern Dardistan'. The Chinese Annals gives absolutely no informations as to the route by which they entered *H'ien-tu* and thence to *Ki-pin*, nor do they explain why they decided to advance through such an exceptionally difficult and inhospitable region. The mention of the Hanging gorge seems to indicate that *Sai-wang* took the *"Kashmir route"*.

Some scholars think that no tribal migration is possible through such difficult tracts, and that as yet there have not been found any archaeological remains showing that the route was actually used, or the region around was ever inhabited.

Stein's discoveries have brought to our notice three very interesting archaeological remains of this region, and we may briefly notice them here[5].....

(*x*) A Hellenistic bronze vessel, found near Imit in the Ishkuman valley, contains on it an interesting figure with the head, breast and arms of a man and the body and legs of a horse. The whole compo-

[1] Rapson points out that Kabul cannot be the *Ki-pin* of the Chinese works, for the Kabul valley was still in the possession of the Greek princes. *Chi, Vol. I.* pp.563.
[2] Chavarnnes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, p. 336.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 291.
[4] Wylie in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* XI. 84 translates Hien-tu as *Hindu-Kush*. cf. *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 291f.
[5] *JRAS*, 1944, pts. I and 2.

sition, according to Stein, reflects Hellenistic inspiration, and may be assigned to the pre-Christian epoch.

(*y*) Rock inscriptions have been found along the Indus at the village of Chilas. The rock also contains several interesting pictures possibly of dedicatory nature. In view of the palaeographic features of the writing in most of these inscriptions, it is inferred that their date is earlier than the 7th century A.D.

(*z*) Another rock inscription in Sanskrit discovered near the village of Hatun on the right bank of the river records the foundation of a town by Makarasimha, a minster of King Patoladeva Sahi. For palaeographic reasons, the inscription seems to be later than the 6th century A.D.

The discoveries of Stein thus make it highly probable that the region was inhabited from a very early period, to at least up to the sixth century A.D.

If Ptolemy is to be believed the Sakas extended in the south up to Baltistan (cf. *Byltai*),[1] and it is not at all difficult for a tribe of this region to enter India proper, through the Kashmir route. Skardo, to the west of which was "*H'ien-tu*", is just to the south of it. The *Sai-wang* of the Chinese writers, therefore, seems to be identical with the *Saka Haumavarka* of the Achaemenian records.

II

Thus we find that as a result of the Yueh-chi pressure a branch of the Sakas entered India though the Kashmir route and settled somewhere in the Kashmir-Punjab region, sometimes during Chi-yu's reign which extended from 174 B.C. to 161 B.C. The following facts, however, indicate that some of the Sakas of India must have come to that country through the Eastern Iran.....

(*i*) We find the presence of a good deal of the Parthian elements to be traced in the culture which can be associated with the early Sakas of India. If all the Sakas would have entered India through the Kashmir route, it would be difficult to explain satisfactorily this particular feature of the early Saka-Indian culture.

(*ii*) The passage '*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*' occurring in the Muthura Lion Capital inscription shows that the Sakas of the Mathura region possibly came from Sakastana or Seistan, and they still cherished a happy memory of their once old home.

[1] *Ptolemy* ed. McCrindle, pp. 284 ff.

(*iii*) According to the Periplus, the name of the capitals of *Indo-Scythia* and of the kingdom of Nambanus was *Minnagara*, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Sakastana mentioned by Isidor of Charax.

(*iv*) The word daman occurs in the names of several Saka satraps such as Jayadaman, Jivadaman, Rudradaman, Damayasada, etc., belonging to the house of Castana of Ujjayini. Konow points out that there is little doubt that it is Iranian : cf. *Avestan, daman* place, creation : *dami*, creation, creator.

(*v*) Rapson states that the Kardamaka family, from which according to a Kanheri inscription, the daughter of the mahaksatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derives its name from the Karddama river (Zarafshan) in Persia.

Thus it seems clear that a batch of the Sakas migrated to India from Iran. Now, we have already seen that according to the Chinese Annals, the pressure of the Yueh-chi on the Sakas produced twofold results—(*a*) a branch of them migrated to the south and settled in *Ki-pin* ; and (*b*) the rest were scattered and formed several kingdoms. In his way a branch of the Sakas seems to have been directed towards the west into Iran. These Sakas are possibly the "*Scythians*" mentioned by Justin in *Epitoma Historicarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XLI, 1.2. This exodus naturally followed the two main branches of the great road from Bactria, one leading to Mesopotamia through Merv. Hecatompylos and Ecbatana, and the other through Merv, Herat and Seistan to India.[1]

The strong Parthian Empire in the west naturally acted as a great barrier against the further movement of the Sakas, and sooner or later, a conflict was inevitable. We learn from Justin that the Parthian monarch Phraates II (138-128 B.C.) was killed in battle against them. Artabanus II (128-123 B.C.) the successor of Phraates, inherited the great Saka problem and bought temporary peace by paying them tribute. But ultimately his patience was exhausted and he was constrained to take up arms, but could fare no better than his predecessor, and lost his life in the battle field fighting against the nomads.[2]

1 Tarn, "*Seleucid Parthian Studies*," Proceedings of the British Academy, 1930, p. 117 f ; for Saka conquest of Bactria, *Strabo*, XI. 5. II ; *Torgus*, 41-42.

2 *Justin*, XLIII. I ; Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 31, 35-39, 58.

With the accession of Mithridates II, the Great (123-88 B.C.), on the throne, Parthia enters into a new chapter of her history. Mithridates II is stated to have been successful in repeated fights against the Scythians and to have taken revenge for his predecessor's reverses. As Rapson says "It was in his reign that the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Iran was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar confirmed".[3]

As a result of this new Parthian supremacy a fresh Saka exodus began, and in the first half of the first century B.C. we find the Sakas in India.

(*a*) It is generally believed that the Sakas of Iran entered India by way of Ariana taking the usual route, which Craterus had once followed, by Kandahar, and the Bolan or the Mulla pass over the Brahui mountains leading into the country of the lower-Indus or Sind. In the *Periplus* and the *Geography of Ptolemy* the valley of the lower-Indus is called *Indo-Scythia*, the settlement of the Scythians in India. This "*Indo-Scythia*" was evidently the place where the Sakas of Iran made their first settlement after emerging from the region beyond India and it became the base of further Saka advance into the country.

(*b*) Rapson thinks that this Saka invasion of India from Iran "must be ascribed.....to a period after the reign of Mithridates II, when the power of Parthia had declined and Kingdoms once subordinate had become independent". We, however, fail to follow the logic of the argument, for why should the Sakas migrate to a new unknown land when the pressure on them put by Parthia had slackened down and they had got opportunity to live in peace. The view of Konow "that the Sakas left Seistan (E. Iran) during the reign of Mithridates II in consequence of the increasing pressure he was bringing to bear upon them" seems to be more convincing.

APPENDIX

A Note on the Chinese Sources

The tribes inhabiting Central Asia were first known to the Chinese through the *Report of Chang-kien*, which is incorporated in Ch. 123 of Tsi-ma-t'sien's *Shi-ki*. Chang-kien was sent in 138 B.C. by the

[3] *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 567f.

Han emperor Wu-ti as his ambassador to the Yueh-chi to solicit their help against the turbulent Shanyu of the Hiung-nu, who had been causing constant trouble to the 'Celestial Empire'. After various vicissitudes of fortune, Chang-kien was able to reach the Yueh-chi territory sometime in 123 B.C., but as the Yueh-chis were tired of war, Chang-kien's mission failed and he returned to China in 126 B.C. But his mission produced an important indirect effect in as much as his reports opened to the Chinese the new world of Central Asia with new people.

Hirth points out that "the Imperial Library of the Sui dynasty, to judge from its catalogue (*Sui-shu, Ch.* 33, *p.* 23 *b*), contained a book in one chapter entitled *Chang-kien-chu-kuan-chi i.e.*, "Account of Chang-kien's Expedition abroad", which has apparently not been handed down to later periods, since it is not mentioned in the *Catalogues* of the Tang and Sung dynasties". The work is, therefore, lost and thus it is not possible to determine how far the *Shi-ki* account is really Chang-kien's. It has sometimes been maintained that T'si-ma-t' sien has supplemented the report himself and included in it informations obtained in 115 B.C. For our purpose, however, it does not matter much, because it is a picture of the contemporary events from an expert hand, be he Chang-kien or T'si-ma-t'sien. Chavannes opines that, in all probability, the great work which has earned for T'si-t'sien the title of the Herodotus of China, must have been completed about the year 99 B.C.

The *Shi-ki* has not yet been completely translated. Chavannes' *Memoires Historiques de Se-ma-T'sien*, 5 Vols, is a masterly translation of *Shi-ki*, 1-47. For the translation of Ch. 123 of the work, which is cheifly important for our purpose, I have depended on Dr. Fr. Hirth's "*The Story of Chang-kien*" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXVII, 1919, pp. 89ff, to the excellence of which many have testified.

For the period after 100 B.C., two Chinese works are useful : the *T'sien Han-shu* or *The Annals of the First Han Dynasty* and the *Hou-Han-shu* or *The Annals of the Later Han Dynasty*. The *T'sien-Han-shu* comes down to 24 A.D. It was compiled by Pan-ku and after his death was finished by his sister Pan-t'cha. It records the story of the First Han Dynasty, which was founded by Liu-Pang, a soldier of fortune from Central China, in the year 202 B.C. It is thus evident that for the period 202-100 B.C., the *Shi-ki* overlaps the *T'sien-Han-shu*. In fact the sections of the *T'sien-Han-shu* which cover this period is quoted, with additional informations here and there, from

the *Shi-ki*. Tarn observes in this connection that Pan-ku "had much new informations at his disposal which Ssu-ma-chien (T'si-ma-t'sien) had not possessed, and his occasional corrections of the latter on matters like geography can be valuable. It is as well to explain that to accept a correction of Pan-ku's is not to prefer later evidence to earlier : it is like the case of two modern historians of whom the later in time has before him the same evidence as the earlier one and some additional evidence as well".

No good translation is available for *T'sien-Han-shu*. For 94*a-b*. of the work, I have mainly consulted Parker's translation of the same in the *China Review*, XX, 1 ff and 109 ff, and XXI, 100 ff and 129 ff, while for 96*a-b*, I have used Wylie's translation in the *Journal of the Anthropoligical Institute*, 1881, pp. 20 ff and XI, 1881, pp. 83 ff. Tarn says that Wylie's work is better, excepting a few mistakes in geographical names, than as Groot's *Die Westlande Chines in der Vorchristlichen ziet*.

Chapter 118 of *Hou-Han-shu* gives us some glimpses of the Yueh-chi. The work was composed by Fan-ye who based his account on the reports of Pan-young (c.125 A.D.) and others. The *Hou-Han-shu* covers the period between A.D. 25 and A.D. 220 for the history of China. But for the Yueh-chu, it gives the picture of the period A.D. 25 to A.D. 125. This Chapter has been translated with valuable notes by E. Chavannes in *Toung Pao*, VIII, 1907, pp. 149-234.

NOTES ON RABINDRANATH'S MADAN VASMER POORBE.

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The Mythological Background

Once upon a time Taraka, a mighty demon, seized the kingdom of heaven and sat astride the three worlds like a nightmare. Indra, the king of gods, had fled away with the greater part of his retinue. But some of the useful minor gods had not been allowed even the liberty of taking to flight. The gods of the wind and the ocean, the sun and the moon were all pressed into the service of the demon king of heaven. But serve him as they might, the king was never pleased and his cruelty and oppression knew no bounds. At last the gods realised that the remedy of wickedness did not lie in appeasement but in retaliation. A deputation was led to Brahma, the juniormost god of the Hindu Trinity, and he was implored to bring about the destruction of the demon as it was a boon from him that had made the demon so high and mighty. Brahma could not fail to see the justice of the claim but replied that it ill-behoved a person to destroy even a poison-tree if he had himself nurtured it. He unfolded the plan of destruction of the demon.

Shiva, the god of gods, the greatest of the Trinity, had renounced the world and was passing his days in meditation in the forest since the death of his wife, Sati. Sati had taken birth again as Parvati, the daughter of the King of the Himálayas, and was now of marriage-able age. Brahma advised Indra to bring about the marriage of the two and predicted that the great warrior Kartick, born of them, would lead the gods to victory in their struggle against the demon.

On the advice of Indra, Madan, the god of love, proceeded to the scene of action accompanied by his friend, the Spring. Between the two, they brought about a turmoil in the forest and from the tiniest insects to the hugest elephants, the males were beside their females in a trice.

Such was the hyper-charged magnetic field when Parvati approached her future lord. While she made over a rosary for his prayers, there was an exchange of looks between them and Shiva forgot himself for a moment. But he recollected himself immediately

and cast his eyes around to discover the cause of his momentary aberration. There he descried Madan in the corner taking aim at him with Sammohana, the deadliest of his arrows, which had cast a hypnotic spell on the victim. Shiva was beside himself with rage, and before the other gods could intercede, he spirt out a flash of lightning from his third eye, the eye of knowledge, and in an instant, Madan was reduced to ashes. The god of love has since been given the name of Ananga-Devata, or the god without a body.

(The Mythological story given here closely follows the account of Kalidasa as it appears in Kumara-Sambhavam, Cantos II and III. But Kalidasa flourished probably in the first century B.C. and the story being a very much older one, other versions naturally differ in details.)

The Subject-Matter

A comparison between the poet's Urbashi, published in 1302 B.S., and Madan Vasmer Poorbe, composed two years later, is an interesting study. In both the pieces, the poet yearns for the days of old when love was free and frank and open and bewails the ravages of a morbid civilization which has made a fetish of prudery. Under a pictorial garb of mythology, the poet presents in both the pieces a masterly analysis of the psychological subtleties of love together with a widely accepted sociological theory of doubtful scientific value.

The established results of modern researches in the sciences of propagation—zoology, biology and ethnology—make it highly improbable that sexual promiscuity should ever have been practised at any stage of its evolution in human society. The psychological phenomenon of jealousy has been found to be of universal occurrence not only in all the extant specimens of mankind, with very rare exceptions, but even amongst the anthropoid apes. And that the stronger among the males should have come forward to deliver up their favourite wives merely to uphold the doctrine of freedom of love in primitive society presupposes an idealistic fervour surpassing the bounds of credibility.

Freedom of love is therefore as much of a myth as the voluptuous dances of Urbashi or the burning of the god of love. But human emotions are capable of soaring above the trammels of science and a wistful yearning in the mind of man for a world of unrestrained affiliations in the matter of love, though not born of the quintessence of sociological wisdom, can hardly be denied.

The theory of sexual promiscuity has been more elaborately developed in the poet's Urbashi and we reserve our fuller comments on its ethnological credibility for a later study.

Stanza I

1. একদা তুমি অঙ্গ ধরি ফিরিতে নব ভুবনে—In the freshness of the newborn world when the morbid conventions of social propriety were yet to come into being, love was not reduced to an incorporeal shadow, but was free and frank and open and an embodied reality in the life of man.

2. মরি মরি—Exclamation of admiration.

3. কুসুমরথে মকরকেতু উড়িত মধু-পবনে—Love's was a triumphal march proclaiming itself to the world at large with a banner flying on high.

(*a*) কুসুমরথে—Not in sneaking beggarliness but in a gaudy chariot betokening the tenderness of love.

(*b*) মকরকেতু—The banner of the god of love bears the picture of a horned shark according to Hindu mythology.

(*c*) মধু-পবনে—By the wind surcharged with honeyed love (মধু=honey) or by the wind pulsating with the intoxication of the spring (মধু=spring).

As we proceed, the reader will see that in this pagan worship of the primitive world where man and nature were of a piece, the poet practically identifies love and spring as the zoological and the geological versions of the same throbbing passion.

4. পথিক-বধূ চরণে প্রণতা—Even the wayfaring woman unhesitatingly offered worship to love on the public highway.

The usual meaning of বধূ is a wife. But it may also mean a woman.

স্ত্রী যোষিদবলা যোষা নারী সীমন্তিনী বধূঃ।
প্রতীপদর্শিনী বামা বনিতা মহিলা [তথা]॥

(Amara-Kosha).

These meanings are not confined to Sanskrit, but in the second stanza the poet uses the word কুমারী which, in Bengali, can only mean a spinster.

If the poet refers to the married state of a woman in a society where love was free and frank and open, the meaning of the institution of marriage before the burning of the god of love must have been

vastly different from its usual sense to-day. We must therefore ignore the dictionary meanings of the ante-nuptial and post-nuptial status of womanhood and assume that the words have special reference to the progressive realisation of the feminine morphology. ষোড়শী (in the third stanza) seems to be the connecting link between কুমারী and বধূ (the immature and the mature woman) as, both in sanskrit and Bengali literatures, sixteen is the traditional age for the licence for sophistication for womanhood.

In Amara-Kosha, the meaning of কুমারী is given as under :

কন্যা কুমারী গৌরী [তু] নগ্নিকানাগতার্তবা।

[স্যান্] মধ্যমাদৃষ্টরজাঃ etc., etc.

These meanings are no doubt independent of the condition of marriage but the worship of love by such girls whether open or covert (as described in the second stanza), should rather call for correction in a Borstal School than sending a sensible poet into rhyming.

Sabda-Kalpadruma gives a more inspiring age :—

আগমে তু কুমারীপূজনে অজাতপুষ্পা চেৎ তদা ষোড়শবর্ষপর্য্যন্তবয়স্কা।

That is, up to the age of sixteen. Making allowance for a tropical country, where apples and maidens ripen early, such a কুমারী may stand even favourable comparison with Tennyson's "Sweet Seventeen".

5. ছড়াতো পথে আঁচোল হতে অশোক চাঁপা করবী মিলিয়া যত তরুণ তরুণী—A congregational worship of love on the public highway. Before the ravages of civilisation, worship of love had not been driven to the seclusion where two is company.

6. বকুলবনে পবন হ'তো সুরার মত সুরভি পরাণ হ'তো অরুণ বরণী —In the Bakul gardens (Mimusops Elengi) the wind became surcharged with an intoxicating aroma and the heart was tinged with the colour of the sunshine.

The poet seems to suggest that it was the time when man was a part and parcel of nature and the sunshine in his heart was a necessary adjunct to the aromatic intoxication of the wind.

Stanza 2

7. সন্ধ্যা হ'লে কুমারীদলে বিজন তব দেউলে জ্বালায়ে দিত প্রদীপ যতনে,
শূন্য হ'লে তোমার তূণ বাছিয়া ফুল-মুকুলে শায়ক তারা গড়িত গোপনে।

—The picture of an unlawful assembly of girls engaged in replenishing the arsenal of love in a deserted temple under cover of dusk.

If love was free and frank and open in the ante-mortem era of the god of love, one wonders why the young ladies should take the triple precaution of secrecy in the time, the place and the manner of the exercise of their freedom of worship. This apparent anomaly can be explained in either of three ways.

Explanation 1. The clandenstine worship of love by maidens in the quarantined seclusion of their own company is a colourful picture which has fascinated poets from time immemorial. One recalls to mind in this connection the earlier Acts of Avijnana-Shakuntalam and the universal admiration which they have evoked. In an inadvertent moment of weakness, our poet is guilty of an imaginative lapse in investing the primitive world with a practice of a comparatively modern society.

Examination 2. Although love was free and frank and open, the rituals of love as also its arsenal might have been enveloped in a veil of secrecy even in the state of nature. Such a theory is borne out by the copulative conduct of certain beasts and birds. The secret mating of the crow attracted the attention of the earliest Hindu zoologists. The honeymoon excursion of the elephant is likewise a departure from its otherwise gregarious habit.

The imaginative consistency of the poet is beyond reproach inasmuch as the secrecy of the woman's arsenal has been emphasised even in the rough and tumble of love of the next stanza (পঞ্চশর গোপনে লয়ে).

Explanation 3. Freedom of love was never another name for sexual licence and recognition was not granted to the precocity of immature girls. The poet's Urbashi is a picture of the voluptuous yearning of the man for the woman while Madan Vasmer Poorbe presents almost an exclusive congregation of women votaries offering worship to the man in the god of love. The unexpected intrusion of a কিশোর in this company of females may have been intended by the poet for a study in contrast. While the adolescent youth lives contented in his humble station on the steps of the temple of love, his feminine counterpart, prematurely sophisticated, has already stealthily crept into the Holy of Holies. In the primitive world, unlike the modern society, precocity of womanhood was yet to secure the legal recognition of "ancient light".

8. কিশোর কবি মুগ্ধ ছবি বসিয়া তব সোপানে বাজায়ে বীণা রচিত রাগিণী—

The adolescent youth, denied the privilege of a closer approach or the assumption of a more active part in the worship, contented

himself by singing *te deum* to the god of love, taking his humble seat on the steps of the temple.

(*a*) মুগ্ধ ছবি—Enchanted by the crimson spray of the on-coming waves of the thrill of love.

9. দীন নয়ানে—In a subdued spirit of self-surrender.

10. বাঘের সাথে আসিত বাঘিনী—The truculence of the tiger was no bulwark against the rising tide of the tenderness of love.

In nature's menagerie, the tiger, no less than the deer, lay prostrate in the wake of the mental cataclysm which was the doing of the god of love.

STANZA .3

11. হাসিয়া যবে তুলিতে ধনু—On the first approach of disporting love with its not too serious countenance.

The seriousness of an irrevocable first choice in love is an offshoot of the social cult of constancy and must have been of later origin.

12. প্রণয় ভীরু ষোড়শী চরণে ধরি করিত মিনতি—The care-free girl's natural dread of the wierd experience of first love.

If immature girls applied themselves to the worship of love out of turn, one might wonder whether the young lady should not have been far too advanced at the age of sixteen to shudder at the approach of love. Is not the origin of such finer shades of love's psychology, one feels inclined to ask, traceable in the structure and conventions of our modern society? If so, then does not the poet's desire to make the most of both the worlds closely resemble the child's desire to eat the cake and have it too?

But it is of importance to note that the man in the god of love has been scrupulously kept out of the picture in the second stanza, and the theoretical worship of immature girls in the exclusive company of females is readily identifiable with cognate practices of their counterparts in our own time. The young lady of sixteen, when confronted with the realities of love, could therefore be legitimately expected to have been as alluring a novice then as now.

The poet, it appears, is out to prove that the finest shades of love's psychology were already in existence in the earliest times and the prismatic obstruction of modern society has played no part in drawing them out in a spectrum.

13. পঞ্চশর গোপনে লয়ে—The five arrows of the god of love are made of the red lotus, the Asoka (*Jonesia Asoca*), the mango creeper, the jasmine and the blue lotus, all of which are stock illustrations for the different parts of the feminine anatomy.

অরবিন্দমশোকঞ্চ চূতঞ্চ নবমল্লিকা
নীলোৎপলঞ্চ পঞ্চৈতে পঞ্চশরস্য সায়কাঃ।

(*a*) অরবিন্দ or the red lotus for the face or feet :—

(*i*) মুখারবিন্দৈর্ব্রজসুন্দরীণামামোদমত্যুৎকটমুদ্গিরদ্ভিঃ

(ছন্দোমঞ্জরী—উপজাতি)

(*ii*) অভ্যুন্নতাঙ্গুষ্ঠনখপ্রভাভির্নিক্ষেপণাদ্রাগমিবোদ্গিরন্তৌ।
আজহ্রতুস্তচ্চরণৌ পৃথিব্যাং স্থলারবিন্দশ্রিয়মব্যবস্থাম্॥

(কুমারসম্ভবম্—Canto I, Sloka 33).

(*b*) অশোক for the body beautiful and lips :—

(*i*) ইমাং তটাশোকলতাঞ্চ তন্বীং স্তনাভিরামস্তবকাবনম্রাম্
ত্বৎপ্রাপ্তিবৃদ্ধ্যা পরিরব্ধুকামঃ সৌমিত্রিণা সাশ্রুরহং নিষিদ্ধঃ।

(রঘুবংশম্—Canto 13, Sloka 32).

(*ii*) For lips see *d* (*ii*) below.

(*c*) চূত or the mango creeper for the body beautiful :—

অয়ি! মন্মথচূতমঞ্জরি!! কমলায়তলোচনে!
অপহৃত্য মনঃ ক্ব যাসি মে কিমরাজকমত্র বর্ত্ততে?

(শৃঙ্গারতিলকম্—Sloka 24).

(*d*) নবমল্লিকা or the jasmine for the softness of youth and smile :—

(*i*) ণোমালিআকুসুমপেলবাবি তুমং এদানং আলবালপূরণে নিউত্তা।

(অভিজ্ঞানশকুন্তলম্—Act I).

(*ii*) শ্যামা লতাঃ কুসুমভারনতপ্রবালাঃ, স্ত্রীণাং হরন্তি ধৃতভূষণবাহুকান্তিম্।
ওষ্ঠাবভাসবিশদস্মিতচন্দ্রকান্তিং, কঙ্কেলিপুষ্পরুচিরা নবমালিকাশ্চ॥

(কঙ্কেলি=অশোক) (ঋতুসংহারঃ শরদ্বর্ণনম্—Sloka 18).

(*e*) নীলোৎপল or the blue lotus for the eyes :—

প্রবাতনীলোৎপলনির্ব্বিশেষমধীরবিপ্রেক্ষিতমায়তাক্ষ্যাঃ।
তয়া গৃহীতং নু মৃগাঙ্গনাভ্যস্ততো গৃহীতং নু মৃগাঙ্গনাভিঃ॥

(কুমারসম্ভবম্—Canto I, Sloka 46).

Other parts of the faminine anatomy have also been similarly treated.

14. পঞ্চশর গোপনে লয়ে কৌতূহলে উলসি পরখছলে খেলিত যুবতী—The mature young lady, impelled by an exhilarating inquisitiveness, revelled in her scientific experiments, estimating the amorous effects of the feminine morphology on the mind of man.

15. শ্যামল তৃণশয়ন-তলে—In the midst of nature's luxuriant indulgence.

16. ছড়ায়ে মধু-মাধুরী—A picture of intoxicating allurement to the woman votary of love.

17. ঘুমাতে তুমি গভীর আলসে—The picture of a youth entranced in the rapture of indolence unresponsive to the call of love in the approaching young lady.

In this riotous scene of women votaries, unresponsive innocence was by no means a variety worthy of neglect.

18. ভাঙ্গাতে ঘুম লাজুক বধূ করিত কত চাতুরী নূপুর দুটি বাজাত লালসে—The alluring artifices of womanhood insidiously seeking to fan the embers of somnolent love in the heart of man into a raging flame of devouring passion.

(*a*) লাজুক বধূ—The poet reverts again and again to the aesthestics of bashfulness. It might be legitimately doubted as to whether bashfulness was not a social product born of a partial and occasional disclosure of the otherwise clandenstine worship of love. If this is admitted to be an unwary anachronism, the poet proves himself unable to keep his head consistently above the high-water-mark of contemporary social ukases. But the position is not altogether untenable. It is borne out even by zoological researches that courtship is seldom a product of equal contribution of the male and the female. It is the male that courts and the conduct of the female among the animals is not altogether dissimilar to that of its human counterpart of even our own time.

Stanza 4

19. কানন-পথে কলস লয়ে—Emphasises the sense of being taken completely unawares.

(*a*) কানন-পথে—When the woman skidded along the unfrequented woodland path.

In the highroads where love wended its way in triumphal march, an occasional flying shaft might take an erratic course. But who could ever imagine love to lie in ambush in the loneliness of the woodland path?

(*b*) কলস লয়ে—In the daily round of domestic duties.

Love is least expected to intrude in course of the routine discharge of commonplace duties. A folk-dance or a congregational festivity might well be imagined to cause a flutter of hearts and even the more imspiring duties of the home might claim an occasional victim.

20. কুসুমশর মারিতে গোপনে—This is probably the subtlest of the psychological complexities of love—loving without knowing.

21. যমুনা-কূলে মনের ভুলে ভাসায়ে দিয়ে গাগরী—Leaving the domestic duties to take care of themselves in a pensive mood of forgetfulness.

22. রহিত চাহি' আকুল নয়নে—Wondering as to what could be the reason of the electro-magnetic storm in her mind never knowing that the Aurora Borealis of love had risen.

23. বাহিয়া তব কুসুমতরী সমুখে আসি হাসিতে, সরমে বালা উঠিত জাগিয়া—Concrete for the abstract. A gossamer-like tender idea borne, as it were, on a barge of flowers, came wafted over the waters, until it assumed the vividness of a corporeal being, and the girl woke up from her heart-searching reverie in bashful recognition of the embarrassing truth.

24. শাসনতরে বাঁকায়ে ভুরু নামিয়া জলরাশিতে মারিত জল হাসিয়া রাগিয়া—In a sportive endeavour to subdue love in an occasional conflict between personality and impulse.

Even in the state of nature the dignity of the woman is not in question. Woman was never a slave to impulse. But owing to the inconsequential nature of the weapon of combat it is incredible that she ever reached the uncouth extremity of celibacy.

(*a*) হাসিয়া রাগিয়া—With mixed feelings of indulgence and annoyance.

A comparative study of the treatment of love by Rabindra Nath and Sarat Chandra is of particular interest to the critic of contemporary Bengali literature. It appears as if our great poet and our great novelist were vying with each other in unravelling the gossamer-like delicate threads of the inscrutable psychology of love. Inimitably original in treatment, each seemed to owe nothing to the other, but yet it is strange how they crossed and re-crossed each other's path in the darkest caverns of the human mind in search of the mysterious fountain-head of the river of love.

The exigencies of the form of art of the novelist precluded the possibility of his presenting a variety of mutations and transformations,

artifices and subterfuges of love within the cramped space of a couple of pages. Space therefore forbids a comparative study of this aspect of the poet and the novelist in greater detail. We shall confine ourselves to the following summary from "Devdas" illustrating the psychological curio of loving without knowing.

Devdas and Parbati were playmates and loved each other dearly as only children can love. Time passed and years rolled by. With the precocity of womanhood Parbati detected that the innocent love of childhood was maturing into an intoxication but Devdas was entirely unconscious of the devious ways in which love fulfilled itself.

Parvati was thirteen*—that curious age when one's people suddenly wake up one day and find that the child has grown into a woman no one knows when. There was a great stir and bustle and her father was not long in fixing up her marriage with the elderly widower, Bhuban Mukherjee, the Zaminder of Hatipota.

To Parvati the world seemed to be coming to an end. Throwing all conventions to the four winds, she paid a daring nocturnal visit to Devdas and laid her heart bare to him. But Devdas failed to rise to the occasion. After a half-hearted endeavour for the hand of Parvati, he ran away to Calcutta. From there he wrote a characteristic letter. He was weighed down by all the heaps of rubbish that misdirected social ingenuity had accumulated since the Fall of Man, and concluded with unaffected sincerity :—

"I do not remember to have ever been so much in love with you. Even to-day I am conscious of no particular anguish on your account. I feel miserable only at the thought that you should be unhappy without me. Try and forget me. I bless you with all my heart that you may be successful in the endeavour."

Yet he was in love with her and he never knew it. On the way back from the Post Office, he started searching his heart. From the faintest glimmer of light in a neglected corner of his mind, it slowly started dawning upon him that perhaps all was not well. In the tortuous alleys and bye-lanes of his mind there had possibly been feeble signals which had deserved a little more attention for a long long time and he had paid no heed. He thought of Parvati—would she survive the blow ?

* It appears that the novelist nursed a soft corner in his heart for baby heroines. In the rural society of conservatism in which Parvati lived, thirteen might not have been an absurd age in the present context. But the intriguing adventures of love and statesmanship through which even Vijoya, the daughter of an enlightened Brahmo family, passed in Datta with a miserly eighteen, sometimes makes the reader think that a farther allowance of a few years would not have been much of a liberalism.

The heart-rending tragedy that follows in the wake of the psychological curio of loving without knowing is not the subject of our discussion. But one wonders whether in the faithful delineation of the pigeon-holes of the human mind even Freud and his psychoanalytical school could have excelled our master-painters.

STANZA 5

25. তেমনি আজও উদিছে বিধু মাতিছে মধু-যামিনী, মাধবীলতা মুদিছে মুকুলে— As if the poet gives the call that the rutting season of man comes even to-day as of old.

Anthropological authorities are generally of the opinion that man, like other animals, had originally a rutting season. Dr. E. Westermarck, one of the foremost authorities on the subject, writes in his History of Human Marriage :—

"Considering, then, that the periodicity of the sexuallife rests on the kind of food on which the species lives.....and considering farther the close biological resemblance between man and the man-like apes, we are almost compelled to assume that the pairing time of our earliest human or half-human ancestors was restricted to a certain season of the year, as was also the case with their nearest relations among the lower animals".

26. বকুলতলে বাঁধিছে চুল একেলা বসি কামিনি মলয়ানিল-শিথিল-দুকূলে— Environmental conditions recur even now closely approaching those of ancient times.

(*a*) বকুলতলে—Suggestive of the insidious promptings of the perfume of the Bakul flower, in continuation of the previous line.

(*b*) বাঁধিছে চুল—When toilet prepares the mind for love.

(*c*) একেলা—Released from the crushing weight of the atmospheric pressure of social conventions.

(*d*) মলয়ানিল-শিথিল-দুকূলে—When the loveladen south wind automatically loosens the reef-knot of social propriety.

27. বিজন নদীপুলিনে আজও ডাকিছে চখা চখীরে মাঝেতে বহে বিরহ-বাহিনী— Man yearns for the woman even to-day as of old but the stream of social decorum flows like an insuperable barrier between them.

(*a*) বিজন নদীপুলিনে—Compare একেলা in 26 (*c*).

(*b*) ডাকিছে চখা চখীরে—As in a fable, the poet makes use of the male and the female bird merely as vehicles of human

emotions. Consistently with the congregation of the women votaries of the god of love, it should have been চখী চখারে and not চখা চখীরে.

Allusion: When Sita had been carried away by Ravana and Rama and Lakshmana were wandering in search of her, a brahminy drake said jestingly to its wife, "Look, dear, look at these two men who are unable to keep one woman between them when even we, little birds, are ever ready to lay down our lives to protect our females". Rama was pained beyond measure at this untimely jest and cursed the bird that from then onward it should suffer the pangs of separation every night.

The story appears to have been based on imperfect observation of the habits of the Casarca Ferruginea. These birds spend the day resting in pairs by the riverside, and if separated in their nocturnal forage, they keep on calling to each other.

Stuart Baker* writes about them in his Ducks and Their Allies :

At night, when feeding, the birds will often wander far apart, and may be heard calling to one another in their short dissyllabic notes, which are rendered into "Chakwi, shall I come?" "No, Chakwa " and then "Chakwa, shall I come?" with the reply "No, Chakwi "

"Who is there," writes Raoul in his Small Game Shooting in Bengal, "When travelling by river during the winter months, has not heard at night the warning call of Kwanko, Kwanko, repeated at intervals?—this call seeming often to come and being answered from opposite banks."

But better evidence in favour of any compelling influence separating the birds at night lacks the support of scientific observers.

Incidentally, the poet's own example of the Casarca Ferruginea furnishes an evidence contrary to his theory of sexual promiscuity. The incessant call of these birds, with mutual answer, is only a contrivance of the male and the female to keep trace of each other, on separation at night. Even if there is a congregation of a thousand pairs, writes Dr. S. C. Laha, each Chakwa keeps scrupulously to its particular Chakwi and promiscuous intermixture of the sexes is unknown. If confugal affiliation is punctiliously observed even so far down the ladder of zoological evolution, where then is the possibility of sexual promiscuity to have ever been practised in human society?

* These quotations are taken by me not from the original sources but from Dr. S. C. Laha's "Kalidaser Pakhi". For referring this book to me I am indebted to Dr. Laha himself.

28. গোপনব্যথা-কাতরা বালা বিরলে ডাকি সখীরে কাঁদিয়া কহে করুণ কাহিনী—In solitude, even the maiden to-day is not the picture of innocence she looks in society.

The dictionary meaning of বালা is a young girl. But from the context and the nature of the confidante it appears that the poet means a maiden. Had the poet been more cautious in his selection of words, কুমারী in the second stanza and বালা , in the fifth should have changed places.

Stanza 6

29. এসো গো আজি অঙ্গ ধরি সঙ্গে করি সখারে—Invocation to love and spring to revive the days of old.

30. বন্যমালা জড়ায়ে অলকে—Fetch back the wild aroma of the forests to give a change of air to the vapid atmosphere of social decorum.

31. এসো গোপনে মৃদু চরণে বাসর গৃহ-দুয়ারে—The poet suggests that the nuptial chamber is the most suitable venue for the god of love to reveal himself on the termination of his outlawry.

(*a*) এসো গোপনে মৃদু চরণে—Also চতুর and তড়িৎসম সহসা a little below emphasise the suggestion that love should reveal itself dramatically.

32. স্তিমিত-শিখা প্রদীপ-আলোকে—The creeks of the "salt, estranging sea" of social convention have made inroads into the very citadel of love, and even in the nuptial chamber the lamp burns low in deference to social decorum, as if love is a shame. The expression "নহ বধূ" in the conjugate poem of উর্ব্বশী also emphasises the fact that even the closest relationship of man and woman recognised by society is not licence for unrestricted love.

33. তড়িৎসম সহসা—Revealing the shame-faced halfdark nuptial chamber with the unabashed illumination of the lightning.

34. চকিত করো বধূরে হরষে—Startle the wife with a pleasurable surprise on her enfranchisement in a new regime where rationed love is not doled out under permits of social decorum.

35. নবীন করো মানব-ঘর—Renovate the fossil man of to-day with the freshness of his nativity.

36. ধরণী করো বিবশা দেবতা-পদ-সরস-পরশে—Overwhelm the earth with the succulent footprints of the divinity that is in love.

Conclusion

It is a treat to follow the forensic consistency with which the poet pursues the logic of his argument.

The first four stanzas of the poem are devoted to the reconstruction of a colourful history of the past. But this is not done with the antiquarian interest of the grave-diggers of Tutenkhamen. As in Carlyle's Past and Present, the poet's treatment of the past bears poor testimony to his judicial impartiality. It is frankly designed for a study in contrast with the lurid picture of the present.

In the fifth stanza, the poet lays down that any appreciable alteration in the seasonal or psychological make-up of either nature or man is not in evidence even to-day, but the morbid conventions of human society, which has made a fetish of prudery, have been the causes of untold misery to mankind. Woman to-day, the poet declares is as responsive to the call of love as she ever was in the past and even the clandestine transgressions of maidens in our own time 'are readily identifiable with cognate aberrations of their pre-historic counterparts. But social taboo has so sealed off the slenderest exhibition of all that pertains to love that congregational worship has been reduced, at the best, to a tete tete of kindred spirits, and the yearnings of love in the heart of the woman are crying for fulfilment like a Casarca Perruginea separated from its mate.

In the concluding stanza, the poet therefore pleads for the enfranchisement of the wife, and while proclaiming the divinity of love, puts forth a passionate plea for the immediate lifting of its social prescription and the restoration of the conditions of old.

The poet's call for social reform in this instance is not particularly commendable for wisdom. But in a picture of the outlawed yearnings and passions of the human mind, didactic criticism is beside the point.

It might be argued that what the poet advocates in Madan Vasmer Poorve is not a social revolution for promiscuous union but merely concessions for a franker exhibition of affection within the framework of a stable sexual attachment. Such an argument will not only render the meaning of the poem far-fetched, laboured and insipid, but will also lay the poet open to the charge of uneconomic use of his poetical resources. For such a modest reform as the unlocking of the manacles of social decorum, it was hardly necessary for him to go so far as to, resurrect the god of love from the era of myths. If in the poet's

opinion the standard of decorum prevailing at present in some of the Western countries does not go far enough, life in the South Sea Islands, as depicted by the celebrated Hollywood Directors, certainly leave nothing to be desired.

A poet is best looked at as a poet and not as an advance guard of the Salvation Army, and a poetical composition which is frankly on the subject of the forbidden fruit should best be spared laboured explanations in needless deference to social conformity.

RUMI'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

1. The Unity of God

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For us, the finite beings, limited in time and space to conceive of the One who is Infinite and Eternal, is really impossible. For any conception or definition is confined to the attributes and qualities and as such it is limited. According to Rumi, 'Conception is begotten of qualities and (its) limit; God is not begotten, He is *lam yu lad*'.[1]

وهم زاییده ز اوصاف وحدست حق نزاییدست او لم یولد است

Rumi, after all his attempt to describe and qualify God in every way that is possible, declares at last, 'Any description in praise (of God) must be the avoidance of praising from me; for this is a proof of (my) existence and any existence (besides God) is a Sin.'

این ثنا گفتن ز من ترک ثناست کین دلیل هستی و هستی خطاست

Rumi continues, 'Before His presence it behoves (us) to be non-existent. (Really) before Him, what is (our) existence?—Blind and blue.'

پیش هست او بباید نیست بود چیست هستی پیش او کور و کبود

If we really want to conceive God, we must be non-existent. As long as we are conscious of ourselves, the finite beings, we make the Infinite also our Finite God with the attributes and qualities limited by time and space. But God is beyond time and space; therefore, He is beyond description, and will only be understood by one who has merged

[1] Quran, Chap. 112; 3. Compare the Upanishad and dictum; Sanskrit "The soul is beyond the reach of language and thought."

Pringle Pattison in his *The Idea of God*, quotes:

'We that are not all,
As parts, can see but parts, now this, now that,
And live, perforce, from thought to thought and make
One act a phantom of succession: thus
Our weakness somehow shapes the shadow, Time.'

And concludes in response to the Biblical challenge: 'Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know?'—If to comprehend means to grasp, as it were, in the hand, to understand thoroughly, to see all round an object, then unquestionably the Infinite must for ever remain incomprehensible by the Finite."

himself in God, by sacrificing all his 'ego' in him. "If the vinegar desires the path towards the liver, let it be oxymel through sugar. The meaning of (my) poetry has nothing but infatuation; it is like the sting, and is (therefore) not under control."

سرکه را گر راه باید در جگر گو بشو سرکنگبین او از شکر

As explained by R. A. Nicholson, "real thanks-giving for God's mercies involves the mystical transmutation that is wrought by Love; and this cannot be expressed in words. Rumi even knew better than Coleridge that in truly inspired poetry the meaning

'like wind doth blow,
As it listeth, to and fro.'

Here he says, 'I am unable to explain further; if you desire to know what I intend, you must lead the mystical life under the guidance of the Saints.' "

Of the highest hypostasis, the Absolute One, who is beyond description, and is beyond the limits of attributes and qualifications, Rumi has not said anything definitely. He has always tried to avoid it, for the reason that mere description, which will always be faulty, will have no good result to the ordinary minds, it may rather affect them seriously, as he says, 'a blade of straw will not be able to bear it—بر نتابد کوه را یک برگ کاه. And let us see how he proceeds to describe the Absolute One. In an imaginary conversation between the devotee (poet himself) and his Spiritual Guide (Shamsuddin of Tabriz), he proclaims: "I (poet) said to him (spiritual guide), 'It is better that the secret of the Friend should be disclosed, please hear it through the contents of the tale....He said, 'Speak out openly, nakedly, and without any deceit....Remove the veil, and speak nakedly, for I do not sleep with my Beloved wearing a shirt.' I said, 'If He should become naked in the vision, neither you remain nor your bosom and waist.'

گفتمش پوشیده خوشتر سرّ یار خود تو در ضمن حکایت گوش دار
گفت مکشوف و برهنه و بی غلول باز گو دفعم مده ای بوالفضول
پرده بردار و برهنه گو که من می ننمسپم با صنم با پیرهن
گفتم ار عریان شود او در عیان نی تو مانی نی کنارت نی میان

Here 'kinar' and 'miyan' are really referring to space and time. But the poet describes the thing in his own allegorical way, and says that when one will realise God, he will pass beyond the limitations

of space and time. He continues : If the Sun (God) by whom this world is illumined, approaches near, all will be burnt. Do not seek trouble, turmoil and bloodshed, so no more concerning the Sun of Tabriz. This (Mystery of God) has no end, tell from the beginning.

آفتابی کز وی این عالم فروخت اندکی گر پیش آید جمله سوخت
فتنه و آشوب و خون ریزی مجو بیش ازین از شمس تبریزی مگو
این ندارد آخر از آغاز گو

Coming to the climax of his description, he drops down, giving only a hint of the Highest One. For he knows for certain that any description, without being experienced or realised, of the Ideal will have no effect. As the Eleatic Stranger says in the *Sophist*, 'Can we ever be made to believe that motion and life and soul and mind are not present in the absolute Being ? Can we imagine Being to be devoid of life and mind, and to remain a venerable, holy, mindless, unmoving fixture ?'

God cannot be known through our limited knowledge, as Rumi would say with Boethius, and all other mystics of the world, 'All that is known is known not according to the force of itself, but according to the faculty of those knowing it', and with St. Augustine and Shabistary, the expounder of Sufism, 'God cannot be comprehended, for if you comprehend Him, He would not be God'. And Rumi sings in the Masnavi. Every sect surmised the End (before realizing Him), of necessity they became captives of error. To comprehend the End is not (as simple as handloom ; otherwise, why there would have been any difference in religions ?—In one (religion) it has been expounded that you are the master, for you are the knower of the Master (God). (Therefore) be a man and do not come under the obligation of (other) men ; proceed on, take your own head (judgment), and do not be bewildered. In one (or another religion) it has been said, all these (plurality of universe) are (really) one, whoever finds the difference, is a squint-eyed low fellow'. In another, how can a hundred (this plurality) be one ? whoever thinks such, is rather a mad one. (In this way) every (religious) doctrine (while expounding the idea of God), is contrary to each other ; how will they be one, one (being) poison and (the other sugar ?—until you pass beyond sugar and poison (good and evil) and as long as there is the body or rather the influences of the body, it is very difficult to overcome the strains of good and evil), how will you get the scent of unity and oneness (of God) ?

عاقبت دیدند هرگون ملّتی — لا جرم گشتند اسیر زلّتی
عاقبت دیدن نباشد دستباف — ورنه کی بودی ز دینها اختلاف
در یکی گفته که آستا هم تویی — زانک آستا را شناسا هم تویی
مرد باش و سنمرهٔ مردان مشو — زو سر خود گیر و سرگردان مشو
در یکی گفته که این جمله یکیست — هرک او دو بیند احول مردکیست
در یکی گفته که صد یک چون بود — این کی اندیشد مگر ممنون بود
هر یکی قولیست ضدّ همدگر — چون یکی باشد یکی زهر و شکر
تا ز زهر و از شکر در نگذری — کی ز وحدت وز یکی بویی بری

Again, "whoever is fortunate and knower (of Divine secrets), knows that intellect is from Iblis and love is from Adam. Intellect is swimming in the seas, he is not saved, and is drowned at the end of the business. Leave off swimming, and avoid pride and enmity; it is neither Oxus, nor a stream, but the Ocean (unlimited whose sides are not recognizable, *i.e.*, God, who is beyond time and space)—Love is a ship for the elect,[1] seldom there is any calamity, for the most part there is deliverance (from this world, by the realization of God). Exchange intellect for bewilderment (being absorbed in love); intellect brings suspicion, whereas in love there is vision. Sacrifice your understanding before Mustafa (the Prophet Muhommad, the universal spiritual guide of every soul); say 'hasbi allah', for God is sufficient for me."

داند او کو نیکبخت و محرمست — زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدمست
زیرکی سبّاحی آمد در بحار — کم رهد غرقست او پایان کار
هل سباحت را رها کن کبر و کین — نیست جیحون نیست جو دریاست این
عشق چون کشتی بود بهر خواص — کم بود آفت بود اغلب خلاص
زیرکی بفروش و حیرانی بخر — زیرکی ظنّست و حیرانی نظر
عقل قربان کن پیش مصطفی — حسبی الله گو که الله ام کفی

Thus one with his reason or understanding only, cannot know God. As Shabistari says in his Gulshan-i-Raz 'Reason cannot endure the Light of that Countenance.' The Infinite is unknowable by the human intellect in any strict sense of 'knowing,' and hence the pretended science of the Infinite is a delusion. The dogmas of the scholastic theologians and of the formalists, as well as those of the secular

1 Shabistari's Gulshan-i-Raz, translated by Whinfield, Part V.

philosophers regarding the nature and attributes of the Absolute and Infinite are judgments of the blind man about colours, or as motes in the eye which delude the seer into the fancy that they exist in what he is looking at. (?)

The whole fact of the Essence of God cannot be described 'nakedly,' therefore, 'it is better that the secret of the lovers, (*i.e.*, the mystery of God) should be told in the talk of others'—

خوشتر آن باشد که سر دلبران گفته آید در حدیث دیگران

The Essence of God, the highest hypostasis, has often been compared to the Ocean, Light, Love, Beauty and Truth by the poet. As he says in the following lines where God has been compared to the ocean : Spread we were and all one substance, and all of us were without any head and foot ; we were one in essence like the Sun, we were without any form and pure like water (of the Ocean)

منبسط بودیم و یک جوهر همه بی سر و بی پا بُدیم آن سر همه
یک گهر بودیم همچون آفتاب بی گره بودیم و صافی همچون آب

Again, "The form was born of the word, again it died, the wave of the same was again mixed with the sea ; the form came out of formlessness, again it returned (to its place), for 'verily unto Him we are returning.' "

از سخن صورت بزاد و باز مُرد موج خود را باز اندر بحر برد
صورت از بی صورتی آمد برون باز شد که إنّا إلیْهِ راجعون

And in the Quran (II, 151), 'inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raj'iwna' (To God we belong, and unto Him we are returning). The 'word' (sukhun) referred to above, surely refers to the creative word 'kun' (Be) of the Quran which says, 'He is the one that gives life and death, and when He decides upon an affair, He says to it, 'Be', and it becomes' (Q. 40 ; 68). The created beings are, as if, like so many waves which rise from the Ocean (God), and are again mixed with the Ocean. The waves have no origin in themselves ; they come, from the Ocean, they stand on the Ocean, and are again mixed with It.

In the same way Love is the Essence of God, the Beloved. The beloved is one who is to be loved, and is, therefore, to be conceived, and here God has been vested with attributes, but in reality His Essence cannot be described ; the state of Pure Love can only be realized. In answer to a question, 'what is (Pure) Love ?—the poet says in the preface of the second volume of his Masnavi, 'Be like us,

(and) you will know that Love is affection without measure; for that reason it is said to be in reality the Attribute of God, and in relation to man (His slave) it is unreal. (The phrase) 'He loves them' (yuhibbeuhum), is complete in itself, where then remains 'they love Him' (yuhibbunahu)?[1] 'The Highest is a state of rapture and ecstasy, a condition of Ananda, as the religion of the Hindus declares, 'where the creature as creature is abolished, but becomes one with the Creator, or more accurately realises his Oneness with Him.'[2]

Light is the Essence of the Sun, which has often been compared to God. And let us see how Rumi brings a comparison between the Sun and God: There is nothing so wonderful as the Sun, (but) the Sun of the Spirit (God) is everlasting, it has no yesterday. Although the external sun is single, yet still it is possible to imagine one resembling it (But) the Spiritual Sun which is beyond the ether, cannot be conceived by reason, and is peerless externally. Where is room in the imagination for His Essence, that like of Him should come into imagination?

خود غریبی در جهان چون شمس نیست شمس جان باقی ست اورا امس نیست
شمس در خارج اگرچه هست فرد می توان هم مثلِ او تصویر کرد
شمس جان کو خارج آمد از اثیر نبودش در ذهن و در خارج نظیر
در تصوّر ذاتِ اورا گنج کو تا در آید در تصور مثلِ او

Strictly speaking, we cannot say anything of the Essence of God, yet for the purpose of discussion we are obliged to put forth our concepts of Him; as Rumi says, 'Love desires that this discussion should be put forth, if the mirror (*i.e.*, heart of a man) does not reflect, of what is that?

عشق خواهد کین سخن بیرون بود آینهٔ غمّاز نبود چون بود

Everyone through his words and deeds is really reflecting his own self; but these reflections are of no use, if he does not reflect rightly. And when he will reflect rightly and wholly, being free from all sins, he will find that he is only reflecting the Essence of God, which the poet describes as 'The Beloved (God) is all in all, the lover only a

[1] The verse in the Quran runs thus:....Soon will God produce a nation whom He will love, as they will love Him (V, 57).

[2] Radha Krishnan, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 113. This same idea is found in many places of the Upanishads, one of which says, '*Raso Vai Sah*' (Chandogya, VIII, 13.1), that is, the nature of Divinity is All-love.

shadow (of Him); the Beloved is the diving one, and the lover a dead thing.'

جمله معشوق ست و عاشق پرده زنده معشوق ست و عاشق مرده

The Ideal of Rumi, as of all the Sufis, 'Starts from the conception that not only True Being, but Beauty and Goodness belong exclusively to God, though they are manifested in a thousand mirrors in the Phenomenal world, "God was," says one of their favourite aphorisms, "and there was nought beside Him;" to which are sometimes added the words, "and it is now even as it was then." God, in short, is Pure Being, and what is "other than God" (ma siwa allath) only exists in so far as His Being is infused into it, or mirrored in it. He is also Pure Good (Khayr-i-mahz) and Absolute Beauty: whence He is often called by the mystics in their pseudo-erotic poems, "the Real Beloved", the "Eternal Darling", and the like.[1]

God is the only Reality. 'We and our existences are non-existent, you (God) are the absolutely Existing One manifesting (us) the perishable ones.'

ما عدمهاییم و هستیهای ما تو وجود مُطلقی فانی نما

Man, belonging to this phenomenal world, is really non-existent; but he derives his transient existence from the Absolute Being. We were not, and there was no (explicit) demand on our part, yet your Mercy listened to our unspoken prayer (and brought us into this apparent existence)'.

ما نبودیم و تقاضا ما نبود لطف تو ناگفتهٔ ما می شنود

It was through God's Mercy that man with this phenomenal world was brought to actual existence and thus realised his own potentialities. According to Ibnul 'Arabi', 'creation' is the emergence of the world from relative non-existence (=potential existence in God's knowledge) into concreteness and self-consciousness; and this evolution is due to desire of the world-ideas themselves. Existence is the gift of God and Divine gifts are bestowed only on request. The request may be either explicit or implicit, *i.e.*, in virtue of the state or capacity of the asker, as for example the state of a parched plant is virtually a request for water, while a seed buried in the earth is virtually asking to grow and spring up.[2] Hence, 'not-being, *i.e.*, man and the pheno-

[1] E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 438.

[2] Fasus al Hikam; Quoted by R. A. Nicholson in his commentary of the First Volume of the Masnavi, p. 57.

menal world, may be said to 'love' God who endows it with being, just as the beggar loves the bountiful giver. As Rumi says, "Bounty (of the Bountious One, God) is seeking the beggars and the weak, just as the fair ones seek after a clear mirror. The face of the fair is made beautiful by the mirror, just as the face of Generisity (God) is visible by the beggar.....Beggars, really, are the mirror of God's Bounty, and those who depend on God, are with the Absolute Bounty (of Him).

جود می جوید گدایان و ضعاف همچون خوبان کآینه جویند صاف
روی خوبان زآینه زیبا شود روی احسان ازگدا پیدا شود
پس گدایان آینهٔ جودِ حق اند و آنک با حق ند جودِ مُطلق اند

Browne[1] summarises excellently the Sufi conception of God in relation to man and the phenomenal world thus : The world of phenomena and of the senses is a mere mirage—a reflection of Being on Not-Being, manifesting the attributes of Being as the reflection manifests its original, but not really participating in its nature. It is like that of Sun (which typifies Being) reflected in a pool of water (Not Being). The reflection of the Sun is entirely 'Contingent' ; it may be blotted out instantly by a passing cloud, or marred by sudden gust of wind ; it is entirely dependent on the Sun, while the Sun is absolutely independent of it ; yet while it lasts, it more or less faithfully reveals the nature and attributes of its unchanging Prototype. The idea is finally expressed in one of the Ghazals of our poets' Diwan named as Dewan-i-shams-i-Tabriz ;—Every form that you see has its archetype in the placeless world ; If the form be perished, no matter, since its original is everlasting. Be not cast down that it is perished, for that is not (really) so.

هر نقش را که دیدی جنسش ز لا مکانست
گر نقش رخت غم نیست اصلش چو جاودانست
هر صورتی که دیدی هرگز که شنیدی
بد دل مشو که رفت آن زیرا نه آن چنانست

[1] E. G. Browne *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.
Cf. Gulshan-i-Raz, عدم آئینه هستی مطلق * کزو پیدا ست عکس تابش حق
—Not-Being is the mirror (and) Being is the Absolute, wherefrom is manifested the reflection of the lustre of the Truth.

But, why is the creation? No Sufi poets of Persia left their immortal pages unturned without singing of love which is the source of creation. Jâmi tells how and why this universe come into existence in the introduction to his love-poem Yusuf and Zuleikha :....To its own Self It sang of loveliness; with its own self It cast the die of love.....

نوای دلبری با خویش میساخت قمار عاشقی با خویش میساخت

Our poet also sings of the dominance of love in explaining the famous line occurring in the Hadis-i-qudsi (famous traditionary sayings of the Prophet Muhammad)—'But for you I would not have created the heavens' لولاک لما خلقتُ الافلاک thus: Pure love was united with Muhammad, for love's sake God said to him, 'But for you,—Had it not been for pure love's sake, how should I have offered an existence of the heavens? I have raised up the lofty celestial sphere, so that you may understand the sublimity of love....I have made the earth so lowly, that you may gain some notion of the lowliness of lovers. (Again) we have given greenness and freshness to the earth, so that you may be acquainted with the (spiritual) transmutition of the saints. (And) these firm set mountains (*i.e.* the saints) describe to you the state of lovers in steadfastness. Although that state is Reality, and this (description) is only an image of that; yet the description is made so that it may offer you nearer to your understanding (of that state of Reality)'

با محمّد بود عشق پاک جفت بهر عشق او را خدا لولاک گفت
گر نبودی بهر عشق پاک را کی وجودی دادمی افلاک را
من بدآن افراشتم چرخ سنی تا علوّ عشق را فهمی کنی
خاک را من خوار کردم یکسری تا ز خواریٔ عاشقان بویی بری
خاک را دادیم سبزی و نوی تا ز تبدیل فقیر آگه شوی
با تو گویند این جبال راسیان وصف حال عاشقان اندر ثبات
گرچه آن معنیست و این نقش ای پسر
تا بفهم تو کند نزدیک تر

There is another Tradition which runs thus: I (God) was a Hidden Treasure, and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known.

١ كُنْتُ كنزاً مخفياً فاحْبَبْتُ ان اُعْرف فَخَلَقْتُ الْخَلْقَ لِاُعرف

And our poet has compared God to the Hidden Treasure in many pages of his Masnavi. He exclaims, 'Know that everything in the universe is a jug which is filled to the brim with (Divine) Wisdom and Beauty. It is a drop of the Ocean of His Beauty which because of its fullness is not contained under the skin. It was a Hidden Treasure because of its fullness it burst forth and made the earth more shining than the heavens; It surged up and made the earth a Sultan robed in Satin.'

گل عالم را سبو دان ای پسر کو بود از علم و خوبی تا بسر
قطرهٔ از دجلهٔ خوبی اوست کآن نمی گنجد ز پُری زیر پوست
گنج مخفی بود ز پُری چاک کرد خاک را تابان تر از افلاک کرد
گنج مخفی بود ز پُری جوش کرد خاک را سلطان اطلس پوش کرد

Again, 'I was a Treasure, a Hidden Mercy; so I sent forth a rightly guided Imam.'

كُنْتُ كَنْزًا رَحْمَةً مخفيةً فابْتَعَثْتُ أُمَّةً مَهْدِيَةً

And Prophet Muhammad, or any spiritual guide is aware of that Hidden Treasure, the Divine Mercy, and every one who follows him will also be able to realize Him. Our poet himself in explaining the Tradition in his way advises thus: Demolish the house, and with the Treasure hidden in it. You will be able to build thousands of houses.

خانه برکن کز عقیق این یمن صد هزاران خانه شاید ساختن

That is, when by mortifying the carnal desire one will attain to spiritual upliftment, he will gain pleasure, pure, which cannot be adequately presented to the human eye.

The primal cause of the beginning of creation (which is signified in the Fall of Adam in the Quran) and with it the birth of man and the creation of the universe is only a deviation from the nearness of God, and the moment one will be able to realize the situation, he attains a position which is beyond description, as the poet says 'Adam took a single step into the region of animal spirit, and the separation from the high seat of Paradise became the punishment of his carnal soul.'

یک قدم زد آدم اندر ذوق نفس شد فراق صدر جنت طوق نفس

Rumi in remedying the effect advises thus: Go, seek at once a Friend of God, and when you have done so, God is your friend.'

رو بجو یار خدای را تو زود چون چنان کردی خدا یار تو بود

And when by following the spiritual guide one develops in the spiritual path, he realises the stages which the poet describes as, 'Sometimes a Sun, and sometimes an ocean thou wilt be'; sometimes the mount Qaf (where is believed to rest the whole universe), and sometimes the 'Anqa (the fabulous bird which is often compared to God Himself) thou wilt be. (But) in thine own essence thou art neither this, nor that; O thou, who art beyond all conjectures and more than more.'

گاه خورشید و گهی دریا شوی گاه کوه قاف و گه عنقا شوی
تو نه این باشی نه آن در ذات خویش ای فزون از وهمها وز بیش بیش

'This is the real nature of the Divine-man, the Essence of God, coming to the earth with garb of bodily forms.

As for the real nature of God, Both the mushabbih (one who asserts the Divine immanence in all beings and things of the world) and the muwahhid (one who asserts the transcendence of God, that He is beyond the conception of human beings, and that He should not be connected with the things of the world) are bewildered by Thee, O Thou who art (really) without form, appearing in so many forms. Sometimes the (conception of) muwahhad (God as the only real Being) is destroying the mushabbih; sometimes these forms lie in the way of the muwahhid.'

از تو ای بی نقش با چندین صُوَر هم مُشَبِّه هم مُوَحِّد خیره سر
گه مُشَبِّه را مُوَحِّد می کند گه مُوَحِّد را صُوَر می کند

God is both immanent in all beings, and yet transcendent, being beyond the conception of human beings. But we without ascertaining the real fact, cannot know for certain what He is. For only God can know God. As Rumi continues his lines, "Your calling (God) 'formless' or 'with forms' is vain, without your liberation from form (*i.e.* as long as you have not realized God by liberating yourself from sense perception). It is with him who is all kernel (purified) and is released of (the influence of) the skin (sense perception) (to judge) whether He is 'formless' or 'with forms'.....When the mirror of your heart becomes clear and pure, you will find (spiritual) images which are not of water and clay; you will behold both the image and the image-maker, both the carpet of (spiritual) empire and the carpet-spreader.'[1]

[1] Cf. Quran (51; 48), 'We have spread out the earth (al arza farashnaha).

نا مُصوَّر یا مصوِّر گفتنت باطل آمد بی ز صورت رستنت
نا مُصوّر یا مصوِّر پیش اوست کو همه مغزست و بیرون شد زپوست
آئینهٔ دل چون شود صافی و پاک نقشها بینی برون از آب و خاک
هم ببینی نقش و هم نقاش را فرش دولت را و هم فرّاش را

The real thing is that the poet says, '(as of me, so of all beings) the imagination of my Friend brought forward (an image) like khalil (Abraham, Q XXI 52),—its form an 'idol'[1] (but) its reality a breaker of idols. Thanks be to God, that (my) spirit behold in the imagination his own imagination (*i.e.*, saw God as he conceived Him).

چون خلیل آمد خیال یار من صورتش بُت معنیی او بتشکن
شکر یزدان را که چون او شد پدید در خیالش جان خیال خود بدید

Any conception of God might bring forward an image, which in reality, is the image of his thought. But when one will be absorbed in the Divine unity, all 'idea' of 'otherness' will vanish away, and he will be the same as He'.

Though the nature of God cannot be conceived, nevertheless with the aid of images, similitudes, and metaphors most people would form a conception of the Divine nature. Rumi says, 'Our King (God) gave us the permission, 'celebrates (the praises of) Allah (Q. 33 ; 41) ;' He saw us in the fire and gave us light. (For zikr is the only solace to an afflicted heart). He said 'Although I am pure of (exempt from) your commemoration, and pictorial ideas are not suitable to Me, yet he who is intoxicated with pictorial idea and imagination (of God) does not comprehend (Me) except with similitudes. Bodily commemoration (praises uttered by the tongue) is the fancy of an ignorant man. Kingly attributes are remote from those (forms of speech).

For the best zikr is that which is done with the heart (bi'l qualb), not with the tongue (bi'l lisan).

اُذْکروا الله شاه ما دستور داد اندر آتش دید مارا نور داد
گفت اگرچه پاکم از ذکر شما نیست لایق مر مرا تصویرها
ذکر جسمانه خیال ناقص است وصف شاهانه از آنها خالص است

[1] Cf. Gulshan-i-Raz, 'God reveals Himself in all forms of worship ; an Idol in its essence is not unreal'.

که بت از روی هستی نیست باطل

Round the World

U.N. in Crisis

The United Nations' Organisation set up in 1945 has reached a point of crisis in its career. The deadlock we notice in its working is hard to resolve. It is difficult to say at this hour whether the present difficulties will gradually disappear or whether the crisis will deepen and the Organisation in its present form will have to be replaced. All the states which were united in fighting the Fascist Powers are members of the Organisation. Some other powers have also been admitted in the discretion of the Security Council and the Assembly. But although fifty-six nations are directly associated with the U.N.O., its success depends upon the cooperation of the big five which were not only given permanent seats in the Security Council but were also endowed with the power of veto. Without this right of veto the U.S.S.R. would not have cared to come into the Organisation and armed as it is with this power it must cooperate in the working of this body if the experiment is to succeed.

In fact the experiment started with the assumption that the big five had the same purpose and aim on the platform of the United Nations and would on all major issues cooperate with one another. This assumption has, however, been proved unreal and hollow. Not long after the Organisation was born, a rift in the lute became noticeable and gradually the rift widened. The Soviet Union and the Communist bloc developed a policy of their own which was increasingly at variance with the policy of the other members of the United Nations. In fact on all questions of the day there is deep antagonism today between the Communist bloc and the Anglo-American group. A cold war between the two camps has been waged for the last two years without break. In view of this deepening antagonism it should only be expected that on the platform of the United Nations also the two groups would fight and not cooperate.

This lack of cooperation which was illustrated by the frequent exercise of veto by the Soviet Union in the Security Council has been further accentuated by the ousting of the Kuomintang Government from all parts of Continental China. This country is now under a Comm unist Government. This Government has been recognised by more than one important member of the United Nations. In view of this it was only in the fitness of things that it would like to send its own representatives to the U.N.O. In this regard, however, the United States of America has taken up an unreasonable and untenable position. It should be remembered that this country has not yet recognised Communist regime in China. It continues to support the Kuomintang Government though it is not clear whether it supports

Chiang Kai-shek. And as it has not yet extended its diplomatic recognition to Communist Government in China, it is unwilling to oust the Kuomintang representative either from the Security Council or from any other organ of the United Nations. It is strange that in this unreasonable attitude it has not been vigorously opposed by Britain which has recognised Communist China.

In any event what was expected has happened. The Soviet Union has signified its intention not to cooperate in the working of the United Nations so long as Chinese representatives are accredited not by Peking but by Formosa. So a complete deadlock has been reached. The Secretary General of the U.N.O., M.Lie, is moving about from capital to capital to bring home to the Governments of different countries the gravity of the situation. At the time of writing he is in Moscow. Meanwhile a new opinion is gaining ground in the U.S.A. Ex-President Hoover has observed that in view of the present attitude of the Soviet Government and the bad relations prevailing between it and the Governments of the Anglo-American bloc it would be wise to dissolve the present U.N.O. and establish a new international body on a less universal and a more modest scale. The Communist countries would not be admitted to it. It would consist only of the U.S.A., Britain, France and their satellites.

The opinion of the Government of India was sought in this regard. Pandit Nehru in reply has emphatically condemned any such move. The purpose of the U.N.O. was to preserve peace in the world and resolve international disputes by conciliation and arbitration. Such a purpose can be gained only if all the important powers irrespective of their idelogical affiliations become associated with the Organisation and cooperate in its working. If the communist countries are not admitted to it on principle, it would then become only an anti-communist camp pitted up against the communist bloc. This means preparation for war and not an arrangement for the preservation of peace.

Education in Africa

Education in European-controlled Africa is progressing at snail's pace. In Tanganyka the present aim (not achievement) is the attendance of 15 children out of every hundred at primary schools and of three out of every hundred at the secondary stage. Even in advanced Gold Coast only one child in five attends school. The chief impediment in the way of educational expansion is trotted out to be lack of funds. Finance is certainly a problem but lack of enthusiasm for education among the rulers is also an important factor to be reckoned with. We in India know it to our cost to what extent official indifference to problems of educational progress can keep a country backward. We have no reason to believe that official mind in Africa is more sympathetic in this regard than it was in India during British rule.

In fact the official mind is reacting in the same way in Africa to the progress of education as it reacted in this country. Already it is looking askance at the educated Africans attending offices. There are many among the rulers who are of the view that Government funds are being wasted on imparting general literary education to the African boys. This money might better have been spent on rudiments of agricultural education in order that Africans might become better agriculturists. Some money might also be spent on training Africans as mistries and mechanics. It s common knowledge that education should not be one-sided. There should be as much emphasis on general literary education as on the sciences of engineering, agriculture and medicine. But it is not this kind of comprehensive education which seems to be at the back of the official mind in Africa.

What it wants is that a large portion of the paltry sum, which is now spent on literary education, should be diverted from it and spent on training Africans on rudiments of agriculture and mechanics. Several purposes will be served by this policy. First, general education will not progress and thereby political discontent will not spread. Secondly, better agriculturists might help in producing greater raw materials which are necessary for European factories. Thirdly, a number of mistries and mechanics will be trained and they may assist European industrial establishments at cheap rates. So the object is to keep down general education and confine agricultural and mechanical education to rudiments. The sinister character of this objective is clear when we find that the British Conservative Party included at the time of the general elections in its platform the proposal of appointing a Royal Commission on Education in Africa in order that it might suggest the changes referred to above. The Africans are in bad times. Will not *UNESCO* take up the African cause? The Trusteeship Committee has failed to rise equal to its responsibilities.

The Press in Soviet Union

Along with the phenomenal growth of education among the people of the Soviet Union, their hunger for literature has also grown correspondingly. It is noticeable as much among factory workers and intellectual labourers as among the peasants who were in Czarist times an inert mass. The Contemporary Review quotes statistics regarding newspapers and their circulation in the U.S.S.R. In 1913 there were 809 newspapers with a total circulation of 1,401,000 copies. By 1932 the number of newspapers was reduced to 723 but the circulation rose to 22,000,000 copies. Thereafter there was a steady rise in the number of newspapers and their circulation until the War came in 1941. In 1940 the total number of newspapers was 9,000 and total circulation was 40,000,000. In 1947 evidently due to reasons of War the number of newspapers fell to 6,300 and circulation to 30,000,000. These newspapers were published in seventy languages and

divided into several categories *e.g.*, Union papers, Union Republic papers, Special trade papers and Factories and High school papers. In Moscow alone forty daily papers and two hundred magazines are published. The Pravda takes precedence over them all with its daily circulation of 3,500,000 copies and 2,000 employees.

Administrative Tribunals

The Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Slesser who was a Lord Justice of Appeal from 1929 to 1940 observes in The Fortnightly on this question as follows :

"One of the almost inevitable consequences of increased State activity is the growth of administrative tribunals—a matter which has engaged the attention of the late Lord Hewart, Professor Allen and many others. These bodies, often appointed by a Minister, have to perform quasi-judicial functions. In France such bodies, specially administering law between citizen and State, have existed for more than a hundred years ; there, curiously enough, the administrative courts have developed on a system of case law and not been restricted to the code as are the civil ones....Here the appeal is often direct to a Minister or his officials and not to the courts ; indeed one Minister declared the court's power to be "judicial sabotage" of his plans. In the tribunals there are no rules of evidence such as are enforced in courts of law. Sometimes advocates are excluded, and sometimes tribunals have acted on the opinion of one party. Where the High Court had jurisdiction they have corrected these and many other errors, but in very many cases there are, for one reason or another, no appeals and in others no opportunity for appeal to the court, as has been said, is in any case afforded. There are instances where appeal is by statute expressly forbidden. There again, the reasons of tribunals, as a rule, need not be given. Those sitting need not be trained in legal processes and there is no obligation to follow or study earlier decisions. Indeed, in many cases a cynic might say that our system is not very far removed from that of the Russians where the members of the tribunals (called people's courts) are in fact nominated and removed by the Party".

Vietnam Imbroglio

Vietnam threatens to become the battle ground of nations. It might be remembered that during the War the French authority was rolled up but at the end of it the British Government helped in arranging a comeback and since then a constant tussle has continued in this unhappy land between the French army of occupation and the forces which Ho Chi Minh has succeeded in mobilising. Bao Dai who is the *benamdar* of French imperialism in the East appears to be in occupation of Saigon and a good portion of territory in some of the component units of Vietnam. But the control he exercises is only theoretical. We are told that even where his writ runs during the day, at night his authority is non-existent. Saigon

itself is not wholly controlled by the French-sponsored Bao Dai Government. This is illustrated by the disturbances which swept over the city recently.

Ho Chi Minh has had communist affiliations and a good portion of the forces he has collected may have the same leanings. But all the same there is no doubt about it that the struggle that is going on in Vietnam is a nationalist struggle, Ho Chi Minh representing the national cause and Bao Dai representing the cause of French imperialism. In view of this fact it is difficult to regard Ho Chi Minh and his forces as only the spearhead of Communist aggression on the Democratic front. If the French did not return after the War and if a genuine nationalist government controlled the destiny of the Vietnamese people, this interpretation might have been correct. But as the French are still determined to rule this foreign people through a puppet, it will be only simple to think that all those who have joined hands with Ho Chi Minh are inspired by Communist ideology. There must be many in his camp who may not see eye to eye in other matters with the Communists but who may have entered the camp with the sole purpose of ousting foreign control from their country.

But whatever the position may be, the French Government seems to have succeeded in persuading both the American and the British Governments to send adequate military and financial help to Saigon against Ho Chi Minh. Both the British and American Governments may have been so persuaded on more than one ground. In the first place they may not be reconciled to the elimination of White control from Vietnam. Its elimination there may only strengthen the demand in Malaya for the withdrawal of British power. One imperialism is linked with the other. Secondly, Britain and America may be convinced that Bao Dai regime in Vietnam is the dyke against the deluge of communism which may sweep over the rest of Asia if the dyke is not strengthened. The question, however, will arise whether by strengthening Bao Dai and his master, the French Government, it will be possible to roll back the tide of communism.

It is true that as a result of British and American help arriving in Vietnam the Government forces will have a considerable accession of strength. But Ho Chi Minh also will not remain idle. First in the country itself more poeple will join hands with him out of a revulsion of feeling against the White intruders from abroad. Secondly, the Communist authorities in China and beyond which have already recognised Ho Chi Minh's Government may come to its rescue. So what is being staged in Vietnam as a result of promised Anglo-American assistance is really an international war which may be a prelude to a world-wide war as the Spanish war was a prelude to the second World War. Meanwhile the poor people of Vietnam will be between the devil and the deep sea, between the upper mill stone of Anglo-American forces and the lower mill stone of Communist forces

from across the border. This is not a very pleasant situation to contemplate.

Standard of Living in U.S.A.

President Truman regretted in one of his recent speeches that twenty-five per cent of the families in the U.S.A. had still an income of less than two thousand dollars a year. This was a state of things to be rectified during the next one decade. He hoped that by 1960 the standard would be so raised as to leave no family without an annual income of four thousand dollars. Should we compare the state of things in the U.S.A. which the President regretted with the conditions prevailing in India? Possibly it will be wise not to institute any comparison. There can be no parallel between the richest and one of the poorest countries in the world. About fifty years ago it was calculated that the average income of an Indian was about Rs. 50 a year. During recent decades in terms of money the standard has been raised by one hundred and fifty per cent. But money is far more plentiful now with only one-fourth of its former purchasing power. In view of this it is doubtful if the lot of an average Indian family has improved much since the days of Queen Victoria. The only key to economic progress is increasing production. That requires the joint earnest efforts of capital, enterprise and labour. It, however, seems that the three are pulling strings from opposite ends. Let us hope the conditions of things will not so remain or long.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Min Kan—The Mystical Meaning of possessing 'Fish-eyes'—By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Hind Kitabs Limited, Bombay, 1947.

This book, as the author tells us, was inspired by the spiritual ideal he discerned in one of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro. The ideal is to have fish eyes. But what exactly is meant by "having fish eyes"? Well, fishes have no eye-lids, and consequently their eyes remain always open. They do not, and cannot, close their eyes even when they sleep. The implication is that the eyes that are always open do not cease to see. "Fish-eyes" then come to symbolize complete or consummate knowledge, and, for that matter, omniscience. One who possesses fish-eyes sees always and everything. Strictly then God being absolute and infinite has fish-eyes. God is all-wise and omniscient. However, a man may be said to possess fish-eyes if he sees things as God sees them, *i.e.*, if he sees things under the form of eternity. A man is indeed possessed of wisdom when he has realized the truth of things, the unity that manifests itself in the multitudinous things and beings of the world. All this the author discusses and dwells on the manifold aspects of mysticism Eastern and Western.

He brings his vast erudition to bear upon the discussion and makes a thorough analysis of the views of the celebrated mystics and philosophers. He quotes copiously from the scriptures of the different religions, especially from the Biblical literature, the Gita, the Upanishads, and the Commentaries on the Brahma-sutras. The author's range of study is very wide. He brings to the fore one crucial problem which is the status of the empirical world in relation to *Brahman*—the ultimate Reality, and makes a good plea for the relative reality of the world. His statement of Sankara's metaphysical theory would assuredly give those who are very eager to make an illusionist of Sankara pause. Sankara, for his part, makes a clear distinction between the empirical and the illusory. Indeed Sankara stresses the unreality of the world in relation to *Brahman*. In any case, as the author points out, that the world is real there standing by its own rights is an illusion. That the world is real in the reality of the Supreme Being the author seeks to establish by a comparative study of the spiritual experiences of the mystics the world over. He also discusses the practical steps towards realization as prescribed and practised by Christian mystics, Hindu seers and other religious teachers. The book contains a wealth of details and of insight and makes illuminating study and can well be commended to those who are interested in Comparative Religion and spiritual life.

I notice one defect, namely, that the author often mentions the names of common college teachers of philosophy of this country alongside of the

names of such celebrities as St. John, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Sankara, Ramanuja, and so forth. All this is rather disproportionate.

The author says in the Preamble that the theme of the book was suggested by a statement made by Pope Leo XIII which is: "There are a number of truths that have also been known to non-Christian sages, which truths must be made use of for the benefit and advantage of the revealed doctrine, so that it would be made clear that human wisdom and even the testimony of our adversaries is in agreement with the Christian Faith". From this statement it appears that revelation is the monopoly of Christianity. The author's discourse, however, shows the contrary, that revelation is shared by all religions and that revelation was not confined to one place and one time. Nonetheless, the author does not so much as discuss it. And certainly readers will feel curious whether or not the learned author agrees with Pope Leo XIII in his conception of the Christian Faith.

Adhar Chandra Das.

Archiv Orientalni, Vol. XVII, Prague, 1949. Pp. 1-452.

This is the Second Book of Oriental Studies dedicated to the Veteran Orientalist Professor Bedrich Hrozny, containing interesting and important papers and notes on various topics of linguistic and historical interest from distinguished scholars. Some of the notable contributions deal with the cuneiform lore—Hittite, Sumerian and Akkadian. To mention some : 'Le mort du roi d'Elam Humban, Haltas I dons la chronique babylonieune' by R. Labat, 'La-bibliotheque de Hattusa' by E. Larouche, 'Dhammapada in the Light of Turkestan Discoveries' by V. Lesny, 'The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kaus Legend' by H. Lewy, 'Les contrats de partage de Larsa provenant des archives d' Iddin-Amurrum' by L. Matous, 'The Laws of Eshnunna' by J. Miles and O. R. Gurvey, 'Conjuration ancieune contre Samana' by J. Nougayrol, 'Demon and Hero' by O. Pertold, 'Le question de l'indo-hittite et le concept de parente linguistique' by V. Pisani, 'Welcha geschichtlichen Ereignisse fuhrten zur Entstehung der mykenischen Kultur?' by Fr. Schachermeyr, 'Kleine Beitrage zum Verstandnis der Gesetze Hammurabis und Bilalamas' by W. Soden, 'The Rod and the Ring' by E. Van Bureu.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Poona, 1949. Pp. 1-336, i-xxvi.

There are fifteen articles, five short notes, thirteen reviews. Dr. R. N. Dandekar's report on the Twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris (July 23-31, 1948) forms the appendix. The articles and notes cover a wide range of topics, from Vedic phonology to Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture. Of special interest are : 'Legal Position of Physicians in Ancient India' by Ludwik Sternbach, 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics' by P. K. Gode, 'The Text-problem of the Baudhayana Adhana

Sutra' by C. G. Kashikar, 'Regional Divisions of Ancient India' by S. B. Chaudhuri, 'The Imagery of the Rigveda' by P. S. Sastri, 'Views of Jaimini and Sabara on Language' by G. V. Devasthali, 'The Image of Narayana' by L. B. Kany, and 'A Note on A Unique VI(th) century Sati Stele' by S. K. Dikshit.

Sukumar Sen.

Second Session of the Permanent Migration Committee. Published by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1948.

Since the war, the problem of displaced persons and refugees has arisen in an acute form, and has made it all the more necessary to arrive at an international regulation of migration movements. The prospects of international regulation of migration movements seem to be brighter to-day then they were in the pre-war years, except where migration problems have been complicated by racial or ideological considerations.

Of the tasks undertaken by the Permanent Migration Committee one of the most interesting is the adoption of a model agreement which might serve as a basis for bilateral arrangements between governments on matters arising from migration. The framing of such a model agreement and the acceptance by the governments concerned of the principles contained therein are, no doubt, of great importance for a peaceful and wise regulation of future migration movements.

Amlan Datta.

Ourselves

The Late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

We are grieved to learn of the death of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar which took place on the 30th of May last. Son of the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, he followed in the foot-steps of his illustrious father in the study of Indology and made his mark in the Archæological Survey of India as one of its Superintendents. The decade 1907 to 1917 has a significance of its own in the long annuls of the University of Calcutta. During this period Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was transforming a mere affiliating University into a teaching and research institution. One after another Professorships on important subjects were created and the foundation was laid of Post-Graduate Studies. One of these first Professorships was the Carmichæl Chair established for the promotion of study and research in Ancient Indian History and Culture. The first incumbent was Dr. Thibeaut, the second was found in Dr. Bhandarkar. His contributions to knowledge had attracted the attention of Sir Asutosh and when the vacancy occurred the Government was approached to lend his services to the University. That was in 1917. Since then he was associated with the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture till 1936. For nearly two decades his was a picturesque figure in the University in whose affairs he played a prominent part. We wish his soul rest and peace and offer our condolence to the members of his family.

* * * * *

Our New Vice-Chancellor

Since we went to press last month, there has been a change in the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. Mr. C. C. Biswas, M. A., B. L. who was appointed to this high office in September last resigned it on his appointment as Minister of State of the Government of India. He was succeeded by Mr. Justice Sambhunath Banerjee, M.Sc., Barrister-at-Law. Mr. Banerjee is a distinguished

alumnus of the University and was for a number of years associated with teaching work in two of its affiliated colleges in Calcutta. Thereafter he joined the bar and became well known as an Advocate in the High Court at Calcutta. Two years ago he was raised to the bench. In the history of the University Judges have throughout played a distinguished and leading part. The first Vice-Chancellor, it may be recalled, was Sir William Colvlile, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal. The first Indian to become the Vice-Chancellor was again a Judge of the High Court, namely Sir Gooroodass Banerjee. The most famous Vice-Chancellor and the architect of the University as it is to-day, namely Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, also combined the headship of the University with his position on the bench of the Calcutta High Court. After his untimely death twentysix years ago the great work he had done at the University against tremendous difficulties was threatened with extinction by enemies of progress both from outside and inside. At this hour again the guiding hand of another High Court Judge, namely Sir Ewart Greaves, was extended to its rescue. For the last few months the University has been under clouds. Its reputation has been challenged. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things, that Mr. Justice Banerjee whose sense of justice and fairplay is well known should be chosen as its Vice-Chancellor. It is our hope that under his guidance the University will steer clear of the difficulties which have of late been noticeable in the way of its onward march. Let the clouds scatter and the sun of progress shine bright on the University, which is the pride of India and the hope of the much-suffering people of Bengal. Sentiments to this effect were expressed by the members of the Senate when it felicitated the new Vice-Chancellor at its meeting on the 20th May, 1950. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, who complimented him on his new appointment, referred to the fact that he was until this appointment unconnected with the administration of the affairs of the University. This, he thought, would be of value to him in judging the actual of state of things here. He would be in a position to bring to bear upon the conduct of University's affairs a fresh and unprejudiced mind.

* * * * *

Sir Asutosh Day

As in other years the death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was celebrated on the 25th May last. In the morning at the foot of

his statue in Chowringhee Square there was a good gathering of University employees and other guests. The Sheriff of Calcutta, Dr. S. B. Dutt, conducted the memorial service. The University, he said, was uppermost in the thought of Sir Asutosh and it was his versatile genius which transformed a mere affiliating University into an instrument of true advancement of learning. In the evening there was another function in the Darbhanga Building, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee. In course of his short but impressive address he pointed out that Sir Asutosh loved the University as a father loved his child. He would spare no pains and mind no sacrifice for its sake. "After a hard day's work in the High Court, he would come here and toil and think over the problems of then a growing University and find out their right solution. He would not miss a point nor forget a fact. Difficulties melted before his massive intellect. He wanted to make this University great and he made it great. To-day this University of ours has fallen on evil days. Many things are being said against it, not only in this province but outside it. It is not for us to say anything in self-defence. If we mend our ways and go the right way, people will see things for themselves and will change their verdict. Let us to day with a united heart pray to God to give us loving kindness, wisdom, light and guidance, so that we may repair some of the errors of the former years and conduct the affairs of this University in accordance with its needs. Let us in righteousness and humility do our best to restore this University to its pristine purity. Though to-day our afflictions are many, I have faith in God. He will deliver us out of them all". The function was concluded by Kirtan.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Memo. No. C/9015/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the St. Paul's C. M. College, Calcutta shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Botany and Biology to the I.A. and I.Sc. Standards with permission to present candidates for the examinations in those subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar. (*Offg.*)

Memo. No. C/8851/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3), Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Chandernagore College shall be affiliated in Botany and Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (*Offg.*)

Memo. No. C/8713/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Berhampur Girls' College shall be affiliated in Sanskrit, Bengali, Philosophy and History up to the B.A. Hons. standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (*Offg.*)

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA

(near Philadelphia)

GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN FOR 1950-51

Four Resident Graduate Scholarships, of $1150 each, covering full expenses of tuition, room, and board, are available to foreign women for study at Bryn Mawr College. Candidates should have had three or four years of University training and should have a good reading and speaking knowledge of English.

The Graduate School of Bryn Mawr College offers instruction and research facilities in Biology, Chemistry, Classical Archaeology, Economics, Educational Psychology, English, French, Geology, German, Greek, History, History of Arts, Italian, Latin, Mathematics, Mediaeval Studies, Philosophy, Physics, Politics, Psychology, Social Economy, and Spanish. Bryn Mawr College awards the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts. Only well prepared students who have an excellent knowledge of English may secure the latter degree in one year. The Graduate School welcomes students who wish to pursue graduate work and to carry out independent research whether or not they are registered as candidates for a degree.

Applications should be received by April 1, 1950; those received later will be considered only if the scholarships have not already been awarded. They should be accompanied by full particulars of the candidate's academic work, including official records, diplomas or certificates, letters of recommendation from professors, evidences of original work if possible, a health certificate, a photograph, and a statement from the candidate of her plans for future work. Holders of scholarships are required to live in the graduate hall of residence. They are required to take out Health Insurance under the Institute of International Education. (The cost of this insurance is $24·00).

Through co-operation with the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y. and the Department of State, nationals of all countries except those noted below should apply to the cultural relations officer of the United States Embassy or Legation, or to the nearest United States-consular Officer, who will direct them to the Secretary of the Local Committee on Study and Training in the United States, or will issue application blanks direct to qualified students if no committee is yet in operation. The completed applications will be transmitted to the Institute of International Education.

Students from the American Zone of Germany should apply to Exchanges Branch of HICOG in the Land in which they reside. Students from the other Zones of Germany should apply to Public Affairs Office, Exchanges Divisions, Personnel Exchange Branch, HICOG, Bad Nauhelm.

Students from Japan should apply to Civil Information and exchange Section, General Headquarters, Scap, Tokyo.

Chinese students should make application directly to Bryn Mawr College.

Information and application blanks may also be obtained from :—

The Dean of the Graduate School,
Bryn Mawr College,
Byrn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. (1) of the Academic year 1358-59-F

1949-50 A.D.

The Committee of Examinations has found the undermentioned candidates guilty of malpractice at the University Examinations held in June-July, 1949, and has resolved that these candidates be awarded the punishments noted against their names :—

Serial No.	Examination	Roll No.	Name	Punishment
1.	B.E. (I)	49	Hanmanth Reddy S/O. Narayan Reddy	Result of the candidate at the June-July, 1949 Examination cancelled and the candidate debarred from admission to any class and from appearing for any examination of the University before the end of the academic year 1950-1951 A.D.
2.	M.B.B.S. (I)	13	Mohd. Raza S/o. Dr. Mohd. Khaleel	Result of the candidate at the June-July, 1949 examination cancelled. The candidate is allowed to appear at the M.B.B.S. (I) Examination to be held in December, 1949 A.D.
3.	M.B.B.S. (I)	14	Hyder Ali, S/O. Qadir Ali	Result of the candidate at the June-July examination cancelled. The candidate is allowed to appear at the M.B.B.S. (I) Examination to be held in December, 1949 A.D.
4.	Intermediate	56	Mohd. Bashir Ali S/o Mohd. (Khan Ibrahim Khan)	Result of the candidate at the June-July, 1949 examination cancelled and the candidate debarred from admission to any class and from appearing at any examination of the University before the end of the academic year, 1949-50 A.D.

Serial No.	Examination	Roll No.	Name	Punishment
5.	Intermediate	104	Syed Safi S/o. Syed Nabi	The result of the candidate at the June-July, 1949 Examination cancelled and the candidate debarred from admission to any class and from appearing at any examination of the University before the end of the year 1949 A.D.
6.	Intermediate	164	Feroz Khan S/O. Sardar Khan	Results of the candidates at the June-July, 1949 examination cancelled and the candidates debarred from admission to any class and from appearing at any examination of the University before the end of the academic year 1949-50 A.D.
7.	Intermediate	945	Rafiq Ahmed Siddiqi S/O. Ghulam Ahmed Siddiqi	
8.	Intermediate	1376	B. Ramchandra Achari, S/o. S. Brahmachia Char	
9.	Intermediate	1953	Habib Hassan Alkaf S/O. Habib Omer Alkaf	
10.	B.Sc.	79	Ramchandra Reddy S/o. Sita Ram Reddy	The result of the candidate at the June-July, 1949 examination cancelled and the candidate debarred from admission to any class and from appearing at any examination of the University before the end of the year 1949 A.D.
11.	B.Sc.	85	Syed Ghouse Yousuf S/O. Syed Nabi	Results of the candidates at the June-July, 1949, examination cancelled, and the candidates debarred from admission to any class and from appearing at any examination of the University before the end of the academic year 1949-50 A.D.
12.	B.Sc.	96	Ahmed Abdul Waheed S/O. Ahmed Abdul Quddous	
13.	M.A. (Prev.)	13	Manohar Rao Padalker S/O. Dattatraya Rao Padalker	

By order of the Vice-Chancellor,
Sd/- Illegible,
Controller of Examinations.

Hyderabad Deccan,
Dated the 16th Azur '59
16th Oct., '49

UNIVERSITY OF SIND

Circular No. Ad/2825 of 1949

To

1. The Principal, Dow Medical College, Karachi,
2. Mr. S. M. Moosa Bhamji, C/o. The Principal, Dow Medical College, Karachi.

Sub : Irregular Admissions.

Mr. Moosa Sali Mohammad Bhamji, student of 2nd M.B.B.S. Class of Dow Medical College, Karachi College has been debarred by the Syndicate from admission to the University and from appearing for any examination for three years, *viz.*, 1949, 1950 and 1951 for taking admission to the aforesaid class by using fradulent means.

Sd/- Illegible,
Registrar,
University of Sind, Karachi.

Karachi, 26th October, 1949.

EAST PANJAB UNIVERSITY

No. 14151-14209/G

From

The Registrar,
East Panjab University,
Solan (Simla Hills).

To

The Principals of all the colleges affiliated to the East Panjab University

Sir/Madam,

I have the honour to inform you that the Principal, Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, has expelled Miss Sudarshan Kumari, daughter of Shri Pyare Lal Registered No. 48-E-131, student of 2nd year class, from her college, on account of grave misconduct.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Illegible,
for Deputy Registrar
(Administration for Registrar).

Dated, 15.10.49.

Syndicate Item No. 91 of 3.3.50

91. A memo., dated the 18th February, 1950, from the Registrar, East Panjab University, notifying that the Principal, Vaish College, Bhiwani, has rusticated the following three students of his college for gross misconduct from the 8th February, 1950, to the 30th September, 1950 :—

S. No.	Name	Father's Name	Regd. No.	Class in which reading
1.	Hari Singh	Ch. Mamon Ram	48-vb. 122	IV year
2.	Man Singh Singhmar	Jay Lal	48-vb. 160	III year
3.	Hanuman Singh	Ishar Singh	48-mr-49	II year

JEBB SCHOLARSHIP : NOTICE

PEMBROKE COLLEGE LODGE, 10th November, 1949

The Vice-Chancellor gives notice that one Jebb Scholarship will be offered for competition during the current academical year. The Scholar will be required to pursue a course of literary study and examination approved by the Electors, either in Greek and Latin or in one of those languages in combination with English or with some other European language and literature. He will also be required, if not a member of the University, to become such as soon as possible after the announcement of the award and in no case (except by special permission of the Electors) later than the fourth term hereafter, and he will normally be required to apply for the privileges of affiliation and to be a candidate for honours in a Tripos examination appropriate to his course of study. In special cases, however, the Electors may allow a Scholar whom they deem to be of sufficient merit to apply for admission as a Research Student as a candidate either for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy or for the degree of Master of Letters.

Any British subject of either sex who has completed a course either in Classics or in Greek or Latin together with some other European language and literature, and is a graduate of an Associated Institution in the British Commen Wealth (excluding Great Britain and Northern Ireland) is eligible for election to the Scholarship provided that he is nominated by the Head of the Associated Institution of which he is a graduate.

Applications for the Scholarship, together with the nomination of the Head of the Institution of which the applicant is a graduate, such other evidence of his character and qualifications as he may desire a statement of his school and university record, and some account of the course of literary study which he intends to pursue if elected must be sent so as to reach the Registrar at the University Registry, the Old Schools, Cambridge, on or before 7 July, 1950. The election to the Scholarship will be made not later than 31st July, 1950.

The Scholarship is tenable for two years from 1 October, 1950. The emolument is £100 a year payable in quarterly instalments of which the first will be paid on the Quarter Day next after the Scholars' Matriculation. The payment of the emolument during his second year of residence will be conditional on a satisfactory report from his college on his diligence and progress during his first year of tenure. The payment of each instalment will be conditional on the Scholar's having kept the previous term by residence.

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